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## NATO Summit Charts a Kosovo Policy: Patience

### Lofty Goals Are Intoned — but No Specifics

### Leaders Agree to Protect Frontline States

By John Vinocur  
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Without a clear prospect of ending the war in Yugoslavia, NATO talked massively about winning it at its summit-turned-war-council.

But victory was never defined in its broadest implications. NATO came out of its 50th anniversary meeting, the first held as bombs and rockets boomed, with its leaders saying at incantation level that the alliance would win, prevail, see-through and set this right, but without bringing precision to the military process of extracting Yugoslav forces from Kosovo or agreeing to a viable political formula for achieving peace.

The summit meeting produced no more real clarity on the eventual use of ground troops and no single view on whether an end to the Milosevic regime meant its capitulation or a half-life that could blur its defeat.

**NEWS ANALYSIS** And for all the leaders' statements guaranteeing the war's honorability in the face of barbarism in Europe, there was no attempt to justify or move away from NATO's operative aversion to risk that has blocked both air drops of food in Kosovars and low-altitude bombing runs.

As a substitute, appeals went out to the alliance's constituencies, notably from President Bill Clinton and Secretary-General Javier Solana, for great,

abiding quantities of patience.

In fact, short of a decision to sharply intensify the war — the entry into combat soon of Apache helicopters was described privately by a ministerial-level participant as movement around rather than toward deploying ground troops — all the evocation of a victory-to-come was thin on sinew and bone.

The summit participants explained victory as a compromise, minimalist notion for the alliance's four big players (the United States, France, Britain and Germany), an understanding that stopped with the idea none would settle for an outcome that was cowardly or compromised the security of genera-

See GOALS, Page 4

By Joseph Fitchett  
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Leaders of the 19 NATO outposts, ending summit talks Sunday that were dominated by the Kosovo crisis, united behind an intensified air campaign and endorsed broad policy guidelines designed to equip NATO, as the key instrument in European security, to handle future Kosovo-type crises.

Vowing to isolate Belgrade militarily and prevent any regional spillover, the alliance leaders said they would respond to any Serbian attack on its neighboring countries where NATO was building up forces to press its attack.

"We've worked out the principles

here," a U.S. National Security Council official said. "Of what NATO is already doing in Kosovo." NATO, successful for 50 years as a defensive alliance protecting the member states' territory, is being pressed by the United States to project its power beyond its traditional area to solve conflicts on Europe's periphery.

The unity of the alliance and its credibility, along with its role in the future, hang in the balance as the Kosovo conflict grinds on.

"Victory is the only exit strategy I will consider," Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain said, emphasizing that the alliance needed a clear victory to justify its promise that military intervention could end the crisis and allow

ethnic Albanians to return.

President Bill Clinton, speaking at a White House dinner, said, "I am convinced we will prevail if we have the patience."

The state dinner was for 44 leaders from NATO nations and other countries that cooperate with the alliance who had taken part in three days of ceremonies and talks for NATO's 50th anniversary.

When it emerged, the NATO summit document, called a new "strategic concept," was artfully worded to let each country offer its own interpretation of the implications, but the key points seemed to fit the U.S.-led concept that

See SUMMIT, Page 4

## Cult Group Protests In Beijing

### Demonstration Largest Since Tiananmen in '89

By John Pomfret  
and Michael Laris  
Washington Post Service

BEIJING — More than 10,000 Chinese followers of a cult-like figure who lives in the United States massed Sunday on the streets surrounding the headquarters of the Communist Party in the largest, and strangest, protest since the student-led demonstrations rocked Beijing in 1989.

Clutching the writings of the Chinese martial arts master Li Hongzhi, the protesters entered Beijing in the predawn hours in buses and flooded the streets around the Zhongnanhai compound.

There they sat almost silently — five or six deep on the sidewalk, many of them meditating — throughout the day as their leaders negotiated with government officials. Scores of police and plainclothes security officials looked on.

The protesters were demanding action by the Chinese government against a Chinese magazine that last week published an article critical of the cult called Falun Gong.

Followers of the cult leader, Li Hongzhi, who lives in Houston, said they were concerned that the article, which argued that Falun should not be practiced by young people, represented the first step in a government campaign to ban the cult — which involves group meditation, exercise and oftentimes bizarre spiritual training.

They also said they wanted the government to recognize the sect officially, granting it legal status.

The protest Sunday underscored the fears of Chinese leaders of unrest.

See CHINA, Page 6



President Clinton, right, and Prime Minister Blair sharing a word Sunday in Washington at a Kosovo meeting.

## U.S. Buyout Firms Swarm Into Europe

### Brash Raiders Till Fertile Takeover Terrain but Meet Genteel Resistance

By Laura M. Holson  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The spirit of Michael Milken, the junk-bond king, clearly was present when representatives from several of Wall Street's most influential leveraged-buyout firms gathered with European executives in London last November for two days of schmoozing.

The group, fêted as the architects of "the new Europe," had been invited by Chase Manhattan Bank to discuss investments in Europe as large corporations restructure there.

But despite a veneer of British gentility — tea at the opulent Claridge's hotel, for example — the gathering had all the

subtlety of Mr. Milken's now-famous Predators' Balls, the glitzy soirees where venture investors prowled for takeover prey during the last merger craze.

"The feeling in Europe is these people are the 'Barbarians at the Gate,'" said James Bainbridge Lee, the Chase executive who organized the meeting, echoing the title of the book that chronicled the 1988 takeover battle for RJR Nabisco.

"That was one of the big myths I wanted to pop," said Mr. Lee, who is group head of Chase's global investment banking department. "Europeans think they are corporate raiders. They were surprised to find out that some of them were nice."

American buyout firms have been

flocking to Europe in recent months, chasing the wave of corporate divestitures swelling as bloated companies began to streamline.

Already, several of the best-known buyout firms — so called because they buy troubled companies with the hope of selling them later for a profit — have opened their doors: Clayton, Dubilier & Rice is planning an office in Germany; both Kohlberg, Kravis, Roberts & Co. and Hicks, Muse, Tate & Furst have set up shop in London.

With American firms having more than \$90 billion in their coffers — 25 percent of that intended for Europe alone — more are sure to follow.

See CULTURE, Page 17

## Allies Order Military To Plan Oil Embargo

### Russia Refuses to Stop Shipments; France Backs Off Its Objections

By Joseph Fitchett  
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — The NATO summit meeting, apparently united in its determination to cut oil supplies reaching Serbia, told the alliance's military commander to work out plans to interdict ships carrying oil to Serbia via the Adriatic sea, U.S. officials said Sunday.

The officials, who asked not to be identified, said that this new action to isolate Belgrade had enough backing in the alliance to ensure that effective steps would be taken, using the U.S. and European warships patrolling the region.

Objections to an embargo, spearheaded by France, reflected fears of a clash with Moscow if NATO sought to halt and search Russian ships at sea, but U.S. and British officials played down the risk of a major confrontation.

The British defense secretary, George Robertson, said: "The idea of refueling the Serb machine is not really on the Russian agenda at the moment." Privately, British and U.S. officials at the summit meeting said that Moscow seemed to be tiring of public challenges to NATO that result in exposing Russian weakness in the crisis.

President Boris Yeltsin spoke at length about the Kosovo conflict with President Bill Clinton in a telephone conversation Sunday, apparently without signaling any intention to defy NATO over the oil issue, said Samuel (Sandy) Berger, the national security adviser.

Before that conversation, the Russian foreign minister, Igor Ivanov, said on Russian television: "There are only 19 member countries in NATO, and NATO's decisions extend only to those countries that are a part of the alliance. According to international law, sanctions or embargoes can be imposed only by the UN Security Council."

Speaking to reporters in Cairo, where he was visiting, Mr. Ivanov added: "We will continue delivering oil in keeping with our international commitments."

## Bombing Shatters Serbian Economy

The allied bombing has destroyed large chunks of Yugoslavia's economic infrastructure.

Page 4. The Reverend Jesse Jackson said he will fly to the Balkans to seek the release of three U.S. soldiers held by the Serbs. Page 5. Greece is struggling between loyalty to the Western alliance and outrage over the air strikes nearby. Page 5. Leaders of prospective NATO nations lend their support to the alliance's campaign for Kosovo. Page 5.

Although the French reportedly agreed to the plan to tighten the economic noose on Belgrade when it was discussed at the start of the summit meeting, President Jacques Chirac later warned publicly that a blockade would be an "act of war" — apparently a reference to Russia, where officials threatened publicly to continue supplying Serbia with oil. Russia has been the main supplier for Serbia, and U.S. officials said that they thought Moscow might try to continue getting some oil to Belgrade along the Danube River route.

Later, at a news conference at the French Embassy in Washington, Mr. Chirac said that there were "no divergences among the allies" about action to halt deliveries of oil products to Yugoslavia. His remarks appeared to indicate that he was satisfied that his concerns had been allayed in the closing hours of the summit meeting.

When asked about French and other reservations on the embargo, Mr. Clinton defended the plan energetically. "How can we justify risking the lives of the pilots," he said, "and then say, 'But

See EMBARGO, Page 4

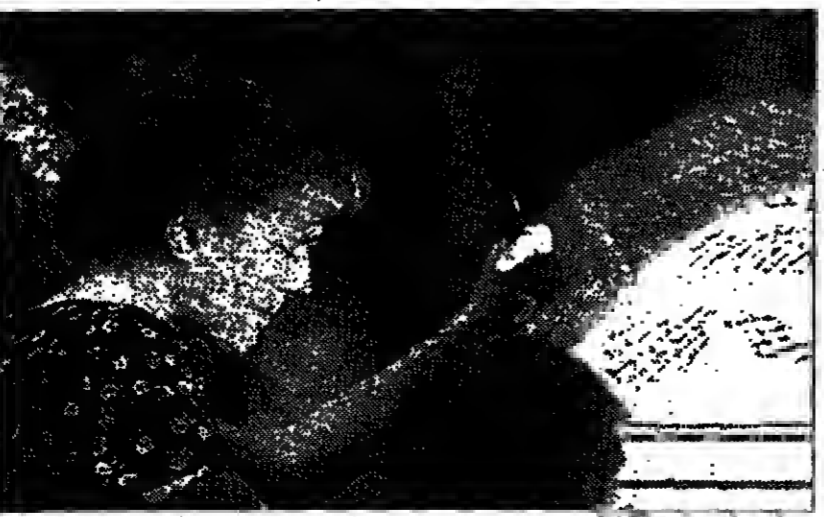
## Young Killer's Diary Details Year of Careful Planning

By Brian Knowlton  
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Vice President Al Gore joined thousands of mourners Sunday in Littleton, Colorado, to pay last respects to the 12 students and teacher killed in a bloody rampage Tuesday, as new details emerged to show that the two gunmen had spent a year making meticulous plans for their suicide attack.

In the first major insight into the thinking and planning behind the Columbine High School killings, the police said that one of the gunmen — they would not say which one — began keeping a diary about a year ago that laid out those plans.

The attack on Columbine High School, which also left 11 persons seriously wounded, ended when Eric Har-



A woman crying in Littleton, Colorado, at the funeral of one of the victims.

ris and Dylan Klebold turned their guns on themselves.

Mr. Gore, Governor Bill Owens and perhaps 20,000 other mourners were expected at the service for victims of the worst school shooting in U.S. history.

Mr. Owens suggested Sunday that if the authorities determined that any of the gunmen's parents might reasonably have known that their sons were building bombs or preparing firearms and failed to act, they could be charged as accomplices.

A search of one boy's room found the sawed-off barrel of a shotgun in clear view, the county sheriff said. Mr. Owens said on CBS that the possibility of charges being filed was "very real."

The police, who have been criticized for moving too slowly to stop the slaughter, said that most of those slain probably died before the first 911 emergency phone call was made, about 11:30 A.M. Tuesday. They released transcripts of the first 911 calls.

Those tapes begin with the voice of a

teacher calling from the library, where most of the deaths occurred. "There is a student here with a gun," the teacher said, adding that she had been wounded in the shoulder. "I've got students down," she said.

The police are examining the tapes, videotapes from surveillance cameras in

There were many warnings, but there are few answers. Page 3.

the school and tapes of cellular-phone calls placed by students in the school to local television stations, in an effort to reconstruct the crime and determine whether the shooters had help in the school on Tuesday.

"We're going to be constructing this whole scenario," said the Jefferson County sheriff, John Stone. "If there was a third, a fourth or a fifth person involved, we're going to find him."

The diary contained meticulous plans for the assault, describing such details as the state of hallway lighting and the best hiding places, either for themselves or to place bombs, and saying precisely when the two planned to, as they put it, "rock and roll." It described a plan to strike the cafeteria at lunchtime to maximize the number of deaths and said the attack would end when the boys turned their guns on themselves.

"They wanted to do as much damage

See SCHOOL, Page 3

## AGENDA

### London on Alert After Race Attacks

LONDON (Reuters) — British police said Sunday that white supremacists were behind a rail bomb attack that wounded seven people in a Bangladeshi area of London on Saturday, the second such incident in a week. The government warned ethnic communities to be on full alert for new attacks in what has been described as the worst outbreak of racist violence in Britain since the late 1970s.

"We're dealing here with extremely evil criminals and terrorists," Home Secretary Jack Straw said. "Until they're caught, that danger remains."

Earlier article, Page 6.

### Gandhi Drops Effort To Form a Coalition

The likelihood of new elections in India grew Sunday when Sonia Gandhi, head of the Congress (U) Party, gave up her efforts to form a government.

"Some parties have put their personal interests before the interests of the nation," Mrs. Gandhi said. President K.R. Narayanan had asked her party to form a government after the Hindu nationalist coalition lost a confidence vote April 17. Page 2.



**FIRM OPPOSITION** — Eusebio Guterres, a militia leader, says he would never accept independence for East Timor. Page 2.

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Newstand Prices

Bahrain	1,000 BD	Malta	55 c
Cyprus	C 2.10	Nigeria	1250 Naira
Denmark	17 DKr	Oman	1,250 OPR
Finland	12.00 FM	Qatar	10.00 QR
Gibraltar	2.05	Rep. Ireland	IR £1.10
Great Britain	UK £1.00	Saudi Arabia	10 SR
Kenya	KE 5.50	S. Africa	R16 and VAT
Jordan	1,250 JD	U.A.E.	10.00 Dh
Korea	K 91.150	US MA (Eur)	\$ 1.20
Kuwait	700 Fils	Zimbabwe	2m \$40.00

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NDA

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Union said Wed- could ban U.S. beef e 15 unless Wash- e the meat had no hormones. Page 11.

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## ASIA/PACIFIC

## Large UN Presence Would Help Calm Timor, Officials Say

By Michael Richardson  
International Herald Tribune

SINGAPORE — Despite reports of continued political killings and plans to partition East Timor by armed supporters of groups that want it to remain part of Indonesia, senior Australian and United Nations officials said Sunday that a proposed large-scale UN presence in the disputed territory would help calm tensions.

Foreign Minister Alexander Downer of Australia said in an interview in Singapore that Australia wanted to see UN personnel in East Timor as soon as possible after May 5, the date on which Indonesia and Portugal are expected to approve UN proposals for organizing and securing a vote there to determine whether a majority wants autonomy or independence.

The foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal agreed at UN-brokered talks in New York on Friday on the contents of Jakarta's wide-ranging autonomy offer that they will present to the

East Timorese. The vote is likely to take place in August, instead of July as earlier planned, to give the UN more time to prepare, and to ensure that balloting takes place in reasonably free and fair conditions.

"My own view is that it will be necessary to have hundreds of people to help with the consultation process," Mr. Downer said, referring to the UN presence. "After all, you're talking about possibly in the vicinity of 200 different polling stations. You've got 800,000 people in East Timor."

He said that the presence of UN civilian monitors from countries such as Australia, the United States, Japan, the Philippines, New Zealand, Brazil and members of the European Union would be "an important confidence-building measure" and help to "stabilize the security environment."

Indonesia has insisted that its army and police remain responsible for security in East Timor. As a result, it seems doubtful that any of the UN monitors will be armed, even for self-protection.

"We thought there was a strong case to have some UN policing presence, not a peacekeeping force but some police assistance under UN auspices," Mr. Downer said. "Whether that will be practical in the short-term is, I think, an open question."

Violence has increased dramatically in the former Portuguese colony, which Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed in 1976, since President B.J. Habibie ended Jakarta's longstanding policy of total opposition to independence for East Timor in January. He announced that if people there rejected the offer of autonomy Indonesia would consider severing its ties with the territory.

Mr. Downer will join Prime Minister John Howard of Australia, and that country's defense minister, John Moore, in Bali for talks on East Timor on Tuesday with Mr. Habibie. Australian officials said they expected the Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, and the defense minister and armed forces commander, General Wiranto, to take part in the talks. Influential elements in the Indonesian

security forces are known to want East Timor to remain part of Indonesia in case its independence encourages other parts of the secession-prone country to break away. The army and police have been weakened by the worst recession in more than 30 years, by public revulsion against their human rights abuses during the authoritarian rule of former President Suharto, and by an upsurge of ethnic, religious and political violence, as well as crime and lawlessness, in many areas.

Army and police units in East Timor have been backing pro-integration militia groups in the territory that are blamed for several recent mass killings of independence supporters in the territory's capital, Dili, and nearby Liquica.

News agency reports from Dili and Lisbon over the weekend, quoting church and human rights workers and residents, said that as many as 300 more people might have been killed by militia members in the Snai district, about 200 kilometers (120 miles) southwest of Dili, since General Wiranto presided over the signing of a peace pact between leaders

of the warring factions Wednesday. But Mr. Downer said that inquiries by Australian officials suggested that although five people in Suai may have gone missing, there was no evidence of a massacre.

Nonetheless, the evident support for the pro-integration cause of the estimated 18,000 Indonesian police and troops in East Timor has alarmed those who favor independence and raised widespread concerns about whether there can be an internationally acceptable ballot if Indonesia is responsible for security.

However, the UN special envoy for East Timor, Jamsheed Marker, said in a weekend BBC radio interview that "the UN presence — and it's going to be a fairly massive one — should serve as a reassurance to them, because the UN cannot do anything but show fair play."

He said that the UN would ensure that the voting would be free, that there would be no tampering with ballots, and that there would be "both security and impartiality."

A prominent pro-Jakarta militia leader in East Timor said on Sunday that he was prepared to disarm his men and guarantee peace ahead of the vote if pro-independence guerrillas did the same, Reuters reported from Dili.

But the militia leader, Eurico Guterres, said that he could never accept independence for the territory and called for it to be split if the vote favored leaving Indonesia.

He said that East Timor should be partitioned into an independent eastern sector and an Indonesian western sector if a majority opted for independence.

The western half of Timor island has been an Indonesian province since Indonesia declared independence from Dutch colonial rule in 1949.

## Fighting in Moluccas

Violence continued Sunday on the remote Indonesian island of Tual, where up to 150 people are believed to have been killed in days of pitched battles between Christians and Muslims, Reuters reported from Jakarta, quoting witnesses.

"I can still hear gunshots," one local journalist said. The Moluccas Islands, which include Tual, have been ripped apart by months of sectarian violence, among the worst of the regional Indonesian outbreaks.

Military officials in nearby Ambon, capital of the Moluccas, said they had no casualty figures.

Witnesses said most of the victims were killed by homemade grenades and gasoline bombs hurled by both groups. The violence in Tual is the latest in a wave of conflict to hit the islands, home to large numbers of Christians in an otherwise predominantly Muslim country.

## Gandhi Gives Up Bid To Form a Coalition

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW DELHI — The leader of the Congress (I) Party, Sonia Gandhi, on Sunday dropped efforts to form a new government and said her party would not support other groups, increasing the likelihood of new elections.

President K.R. Narayanan had asked Congress, the second-largest party in Parliament, to form a government after the ruling Hindu nationalist coalition lost a confidence vote April 17.

"I told the president that I tried my best but I have not been able to get enough support," Mrs. Gandhi told reporters after meeting with Mr. Narayanan, India's constitutional figurehead.

"There is no question of supporting any third or fourth front," she said, referring to efforts by Communists and Socialists to form a government. "Some parties have put their personal interests before the interests of the nation," she said.

"You know who they are better than I do."

The announcement appeared to open the way for the third general election in three years. No single party has a clear majority in Parliament.

Asked whether fresh elections were now inevitable, Mrs. Gandhi said the decision lay with Mr. Narayanan.

"Whatever the president decides, we will abide by," she said. "We have been working all along as a responsible opposition and we will continue to do this."

The coalition led by the Bharatiya Janata Party lost the April 17 confidence poll by one vote.

The party has in the meantime given the president a list of 270 lawmakers in the 543-seat Parliament who support its coalition.

Bharatiya Janata leaders insist the party can build a new government, and have asked Mr. Narayanan for another chance. Many experts have argued



Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee after a meeting Sunday with the Indian president.

that such a move would be unconstitutional, but opposition to another election is so strong that the president may decide any option is preferable to early voting.

Later Sunday, the ousted prime minister, Atal Bihari Vaj-

payee, met with Mr. Narayanan, but it did not appear the president had given Mr. Vajpayee the nod to try again at forming a government. If he did not, that would force India to call its third election in as many years.

Mr. Vajpayee said his caretaker cabinet would meet Monday. Only the cabinet can recommend elections; the president then formally asks the Independent Elections Commission for a new vote, which would have to be completed within six months. (AP, AFP)

## As Koreans Visit North, Critics Fear Tourist Cash Will Pay for Guns

By Sheryl WuDunn  
New York Times Service

SEOUL — Thousands of South Korean tourists will spend time this summer on mountain trails in an unlikely place: North Korea.

In one of the most visible breakthroughs for President Kim Dae Jung's "sunshine" policy toward the North, South Koreans began taking tour ships there in November; this summer they may even be able to relax on enemy beaches.

Mr. Kim's aim is to demonstrate to North Korea's secretive Stalinist dictatorship that it will be better off if it cooperates with the South and opens up its economy. But critics worry that camera-toting tourists could conceivably end up as hostages and are also con-

cerned that the Hyundai industry group, which is investing in the six-year tourist project, will turn over nearly \$1 billion to North Korea, the longtime enemy of the South.

Hyundai has transferred \$25 million a month since December to a North Korean bank account in Macau in exchange for the right to develop a tourist site on the scenic Kumgang Mountain. In June, the amount will drop to \$8 million a month.

The risk is that the North will spend that money on guns aimed at the South. The two Koreas have technically been at war for more than 45 years, and the border between them has the greatest massing of hostile troops in the world.

The North could also spend the cash on sorely needed food and medicine.

Several years of flooding have devastated the country's crops, creating a famine that is believed to have killed several hundred thousand people.

The South's government is sending 50,000 tons of fertilizer, rather than food, partly to encourage the North to rebuild its farming.

So far, 50,000 tourists have visited the North, spending three nights aboard a ship docked in a North Korean port. During the day, tourists are bused to the mountains for hiking along a specially built road, bordered by a specially built iron fence.

Most of the tourists are elderly, and many were born in the North before the war broke the country in two. But honeymooning couples and the curious have also been boarding cruise ships, which

sail about every other day. Only South Koreans are eligible for now.

Soon the ships will leave daily, but as the season warms up, critics are increasingly voicing concern that the cash might be spent on artillery or materials for nuclear arms, which could be used against the South.

"We should not give cash to North Korea; we should give fertilizer," said Lee Shin Bom, an opposition National Assembly member, who opposes Mr. Kim's approach. "They can buy materials for missiles from Russia with cash."

Mr. Lee says that it costs \$100 million to launch a missile like the one North Korea fired over Japan last August. He says that while millions of its people are starving, North Korea may not use most

of the money to feed people. Others say that the North Korean leader, Kim Jong Il, the reclusive son of the founding father, Kim Il Sung, may also spend money on gifts to buy loyalty from his aides. Or the money could go to strengthen the military.

"This would partly contribute to North Korea's military buildup," said Koh Il Dong, a North Korea expert at the Korea Development Institute. "But even if the deal was not realized, North Korea would still stockpile for military purposes."

Mr. Koh says that the tourism arrangement will reduce the risk that North Korea will do something rash. "It's a goose that lays the golden egg," he said. "Are they going to kill it?"

## TRAVEL UPDATE

## Air France Staff Prolongs Strike at Airport in Nice

NICE (AFP) — Air France workers at the airport in this Mediterranean resort city decided Sunday to continue a strike over job security until Monday.

The strike, by ground staff members protesting Air France's plans to turn over some of its services to contractors, has severely disrupted Riviera travel.

The first meeting between strikers and management since Tuesday ended Saturday without a solution to the 11-day labor action.

## UN Ban Over, Libya Acts To Lure Japanese Visitors

TRIPOLI, Libya (AFP) — Libya has signed a deal with private companies to attract Japanese tourists to this North African country and its Roman ruins, state television reported over the weekend. Under the accord, Libya will open a bureau in Japan to offer packages.

The agreement followed a United Nations decision to lift sanctions imposed after Tripoli refused to hand over two suspects wanted in the 1988 bombing of a U.S. airliner over Scotland. The two have been turned over.

## Vatican Names a Security Panel

Agence France-Press

VATICAN CITY — The Vatican has established a committee to tighten security during celebrations next year of the 2,000th anniversary of the birth of Christ, the daily Il Messaggero said Sunday.

Some 25 million tourists and pilgrims are expected to converge on Rome for the festivities organized by the Roman Catholic Church.

The committee will "collect useful information and coordinate measures required to ensure security," according to a decree signed by Cardinal Edmund Szoka, president of Vatican City's Pontifical Commission, on March 26.

Members will "elaborate and propose security and risk-prevention measures," the decree said.

## This Week's Holidays

Banking and government offices may be closed or services curtailed in the following countries and their dependencies this week because of national and religious holidays:

MONDAY: Algeria, Australia, Bahrain, Iran, Pakistan, Tanzania.

TUESDAY: Bahrain, Bangladesh, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Slovenia, South Africa, Togo, Yugoslavia.

THURSDAY: Japan, Kuwait, Sri Lanka.

FRIDAY: Denmark, India, Iran, Netherlands, Sri Lanka, Vietnam.

SATURDAY: All countries except: Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bermuda, Bhutan, Britain, Canada, Denmark, Georgia, Iceland, Indonesia, Iran, Jamaica, Japan, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Trinidad, Turkey, Turkmenistan, United Arab Emirates, United States.

SUNDAY: Macedonia, Russia, Slovenia, Yugoslavia.

Sources: Bloomberg, Reuters

## WEATHER

Forecast for Tuesday through Thursday, as provided by AccuWeather.

Europe				Asia			
City	Today	Tomorrow	Day After	City	Today	Tomorrow	Day After
Algeria	18/24	11/22	10/21	Algeria	20/26	19/24	21/27
Amsterdam	17/22	16/21	15/20	Amsterdam	20/26	19/24	21/27
Antwerp	17/22	16/21	15/20	Antwerp	20/26	19/24	21/27
Athens	19/24	18/23	17/22	Athens	20/26	19/24	21/27
Berlin	17/22	16/21	15/20	Berlin	20/26	19/24	21/27
Bombay	27/33	26/32	25/31	Bombay	27/33	26/32	25/31
Buenos Aires	19/24	18/23	17/22	Buenos Aires	20/26	19/24	21/27
Calcutta	27/33	26/32	25/31	Calcutta	27/33	26/32	25/31
Cardiff	17/22	16/21	15/20	Cardiff	20/26	19/24	21/27
Chennai	27/33	26/32	25/31	Chennai	27/33	26/32	25/31
Cairo	19/24	18/23	17/22	Cairo	20/26	19/24	21/27
Cebu	27/33	26/32	25/31	Cebu	27/33	26/32	25/31
Dhaka	27/33	26/32	25/31	Dhaka	27/33	26/32	25/31
Dublin	17/22	16/21	15/20	Dublin	20/26	19/24	21/27
Edinburgh	17/22	16/21	15/20	Edinburgh	20/26	19/24	21/27
Hong Kong	27/33	26/32	25/31	Hong Kong	27/33	26/32	25/31
Kolkata	27/33	26/32	25/31	Kolkata	27/33	26/32	25/31
London	17/22	16/21	15/20	London	20/26	19/24	21/27
Los Angeles	19/24	18/23	17/22	Los Angeles	20/26	19/24	21/27
Madrid	19/24	18/23	17/22	Madrid	20/26	19/24	21/27
Mumbai	27/33	26/32	25/31	Mumbai	27/33	26/32	25/31
New Delhi	27/33	26/32	25/31	New Delhi	27/33	26/32	25/31
Paris	17/22	16/21	15/20	Paris	20/26	19/24	21/27
Rangoon	27/33	26/32	25/31	Rangoon	27/33	26/32	25/31
San Francisco	19/24	18/23	17/22	San Francisco	20/26	19/24	21/27
Seoul	19/24	18/23	17/22	Seoul	20/26	19/24	21/27
Singapore	27/33	26/32	25/31	Singapore	27/33	26/32	25/31
Taipei	27/33	26/32	25/31	Taipei	27/33	26/32	25/31
Tokyo	19/24	18/23	17/22	Tokyo	20/26	19/24	21/27
Yokohama	19/24	18/23	17/22	Yokohama	20/26	19/24	21/27

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## THE AMERICAS

## Soul-Searching in School Tragedy Yields Many Warnings but Few Answers

By David Von Drehle  
Washington Post Service

LITTLETON, Colorado — People have come by the thousands to Clement Park to gaze at the center of the horrible mystery. They have followed winding paths to the dirty yellow police tape, or trudged through sopping late-spring snow to the top of a bluff where, spread out below them, Columbine High School quietly lies.

What went on in there? By now the world has read the chilling story of the laughing killers, heard the terrified screams and relentless gunshots. But it is not the ghoulish "what" or the gruesome "how" that draws these thousands, so much as the inscrutable "whys." Why didn't anyone see it coming? Why did such hatred allowed to fester? Why did this happen, and why here?

Columbine High School perceived itself as a warm nest of achievement. Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold perceived it quite differently: a nest of tension, bullies and cliques; a school dominated by a handful of confident, aggressive athletes who were emulated by many, feared by some and despised by a few.

Both images have elements of truth. And in this paradox may lie some lessons of the Columbine tragedy.

Millions of words have been written and spoken of Columbine High School in the past week, but it is possible to divide most into two distinct piles, one marked "warnings" and the other marked "no warnings." Each pile adds up to its own picture of life at Columbine High School and of the place in it occupied by Mr. Klebold and Mr. Harris.

First, the warnings:

The guidance counselor, Ryan

Collins, says flatly that harassment is not tolerated at Columbine, but for children on the receiving end it could create an ostracizing and mean-spirited environment. A parent named Stephen Greene says that his son was taunted by athletic jocks because he is Jewish, and that administrators ignored his complaints until he threatened a lawsuit.

Michelle Shoels, 15, and Corrie Whitfield, 16, two of a small number of black students who attend Columbine, echo the charge. They said they complained to a dean of students about racial slurs in the hallways. "White kids walk by and they'll say derogatory names to us. We bring it to the administrators and they say, 'Wait until next time.'" Corrie recalled last week. No action was taken until she and a white girl nearby came to blows, she said, and then both of them were suspended.

Joseph Stair, 18, a founder of the group that has come to be known as the Trench Coat Mafia, said of his small band of outcasts and the larger clique of athletes: "We hated each other." Joseph and others in the "TCM" allege that they were called "faggots" and that jocks threw rocks and bottles at them.

The outcasts in turn were cruel to others. Michael Shoels is father to Michelle and to a son, Isaiah, who was killed by Mr. Harris and Mr. Klebold. He said in interviews after the shootings that his son had complained to him of racial abuse from the students in trenchcoats, but that he had counseled his son to ignore the problem. Isaiah, too, was briefly suspended after a confrontation with a white student.

In this tough and stratified universe, Mr. Harris, 18, and Mr. Klebold, 17, were friendly with the trenchcoats, but not

sufficiently part of the fringe group to appear in their yearbook picture last year. They didn't eat at the "mafia" lunch table, one member told the Denver Post.

Some people now say they recognized this isolated pair as strange, disturbing characters. A student, Michael Staver, said he saw the pair recently marching through the halls and jostling kids in their path. Other students report that, during their 6:30 A.M. bowling class, they celebrated strikes with the Nazi salute.

But they added that nothing they saw especially worried them or seemed like an infraction requiring official attention. In a few murky cases, however, people are said to have alerted the administration. And a few others wish they had.

Another warning, this one delivered directly inside the school, has been reported in the Denver Rocky Mountain News: Teacher Cheryl Lucas sup-

posedly told unnamed school administrators that Mr. Harris and Mr. Klebold "write hate stories and hate letters" and might have a potential for violence. "We weren't expecting anything this bad, but we did see signs that these kids were disturbed."

The teacher went on to say that the concerns were vague and there was no obvious solution: "There's nothing that permits us to take action based on signs."

But reached twice by The Washington Post, Ms. Lucas insisted she had said no such thing. She believes another teacher reported concerns, and that the News reporter got them confused. But Ms. Lucas refused to provide that teacher's name.

Another warning: Chris Reilly, a student, says Mr. Harris and Mr. Klebold made a video last fall for a class assignment that showed them walking through school firing guns (apparently fake) at friends dressed as jocks. A friend, Eric Veik, had said he helped the pair make other videos in a similar violent vein that he has turned over to investigators.

But at least one classmate said the video could easily be perceived as a spoof. Garrett Talocco, the teacher who made the assignment, declined to discuss the video or the class.

CNN reported Friday that a psychology teacher, Tom Johnson, taught Mr. Harris and Mr. Klebold. He asked his students to write essays on their dreams. One of the two gunmen described a dream in which the pair went on a killing spree. Mr. Johnson was said to be guilt-stricken, wondering whether he should have reported this. The teacher could not be reached for further details.

Why did nobody do anything? Perhaps because of the large pile of information marked "no warnings."

Columbine High School is a fine public school that seeds 85 percent of its graduates to college. State-of-the-art when it was opened in 1973, it was given a \$13 million renovation after just 20 years of use. It is surrounded by acres of parkland and quiet neighborhoods. A recent graduating class of less than 500 collected nearly 200 academic and athletic scholarships.

We scoured the city to find a great neighborhood and a great school, somewhere the girls would be safe," Don Fleming told a reporter last week. His daughter Kelly died in the shootings.

Mr. Harris and Mr. Klebold were "normal high school kids," said Chris Lau, the boys' boss at Blackjack Pizza, a franchise where they made and delivered pizzas. A boy who played with Mr. Harris for several years on a recreation league soccer team, Jason Romanick, 17, called him "the funniest guy on the team. You could hardly take him seriously."

## In All of Us, Just a Little Neanderthal?

By John Noble Wilford  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Neanderthals and modern humans not only co-existed for thousands of years long ago, as anthropologists have established, but now their little secret is out: They also cohabited.

At least that is the interpretation paleontologists are making based on their examinations of the 24,500-year-old skeleton of a young boy that was discovered recently in a shallow grave in Portugal. The boy's bones seemed to show a genetic heritage part Neanderthal, part early modern Homo sapiens. He was a hybrid, they concluded, and the first strong physical evidence of breeding between the groups in Europe.

"This skeleton demonstrates that early modern humans and Neanderthals are not all that different," said Erik Trinkaus, a paleoanthropologist at Washington University in St. Louis. "They intermixed, interbred and produced offspring."

Scientists said the discovery was certain to challenge thinking about the place of Neanderthals in human evolution. A hybrid would show that Neanderthals and modern humans were not separate species or subspecies but two groups that viewed each other as appropriate mates.

Recent DNA research had appeared to show that the two had not interbred. Neanderthals lived in Europe and western Asia from 300,000 years ago until the last of them disappeared on the Iberian peninsula about 28,000 years ago. In the prevailing theory, modern humans arose in Africa less than 200,000 years ago and started appearing in great numbers in Europe about 40,000 years ago.

The discovery of a hybrid could, at long last, resolve the question of what happened to the Neanderthals, the stocky heavy-browed "cave men." They may have merged with modern humans, called Cro-Magnons, who appear to have arrived in Europe with a superior tool culture. In that case, some Neanderthal genes survive in most Europeans and people of European descent.

The skeleton of the boy, buried with strings of shells and painted with red ochre, was uncovered in December by Portuguese archaeologists led by Joao Zilhao, director of the Institute of Archaeology in Lisbon. They found it in the Lepedro Valley near Leiria, 145 kilometers (90 miles) north of Lisbon. Realizing its potential significance, Mr. Zilhao called in Mr. Trinkaus, an authority on Neanderthal paleontology.

The boy, who was about 4 years old when he died, had the prominent chin and other facial characteristics of a fully modern human. But his stocky body and short legs were those of a Neanderthal. Mr. Trinkaus compared the limb proportions with those of Neanderthal skeletons, including some children. Then he was sure, he said, of the skeleton's implications.

"It's a complex mosaic, which is what you get when you have a hybrid," Mr. Trinkaus said. "This is the first definite evidence of admixture between Neanderthals and European early modern humans."

The age of the skeleton, determined by radiocarbon dating, showed that full Neanderthals had apparently died out at least 4,000 years before the boy was born. Mr. Trinkaus said this meant that the boy had not been the result of a rare mating but was a descendant of generations of Neanderthal-Cro-Magnon hybrids.

## SCHOOL: Killer's Diary Found

Continued from Page 1

as they could possibly do and destroy the school and destroy as many children as they could, to go out in flames," Sheriff Stone said. "They expected to die."

He said the young men were "going for a big kill."

The diary, which Sheriff Stone said was in one boy's handwriting but clearly reflected planning by both, was sprinkled with German words and full of references to Nazi Germany. It was no accident, he said, that the attack took place on April 20, the 110th anniversary of Hitler's birthday.

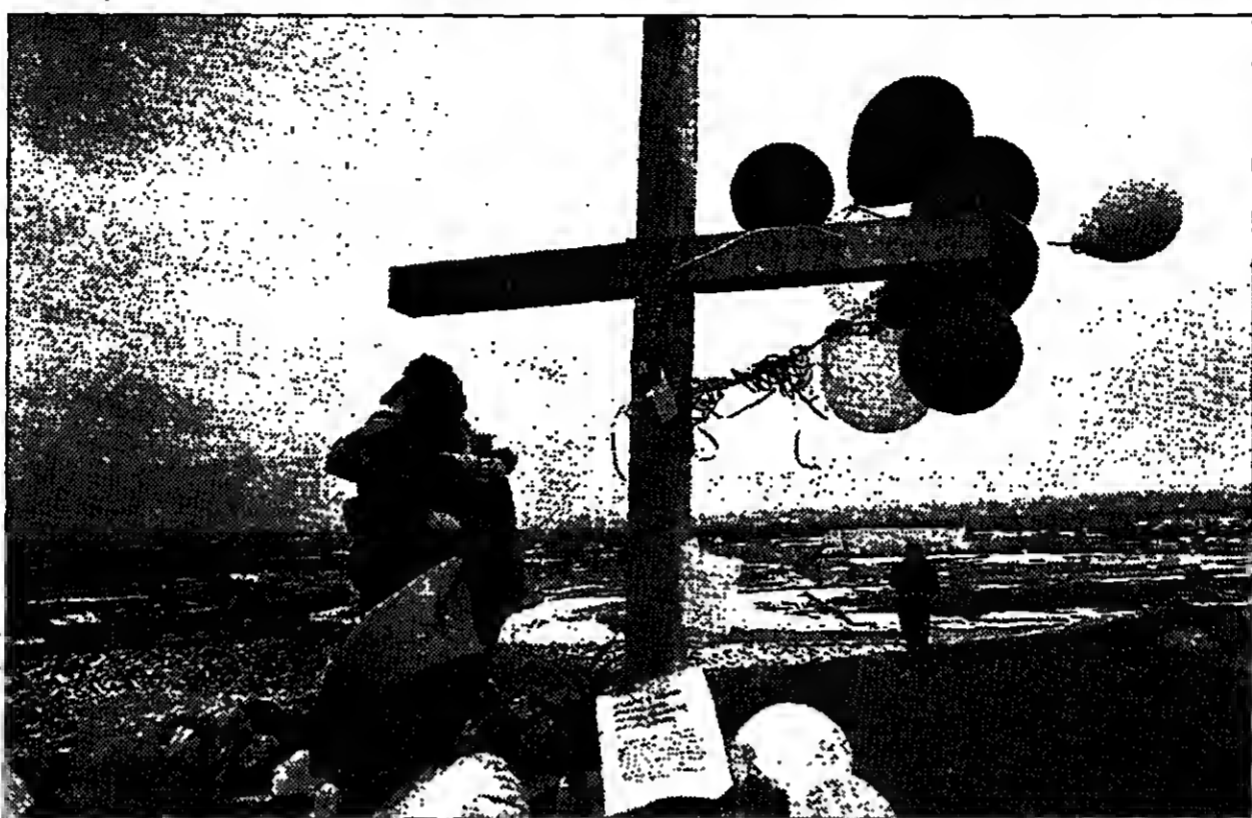
The police and the friends and family members of victims continued to express anger and bitterness at the ease with which the boys prepared for their attack, apparently without it coming to the attention of parents or others.

Sheriff Stone said that in one of the boy's rooms, the barrel that had been cut off a shotgun was clearly visible, along with other suspicious materials.

"The parents should have been aware of it," he said with contained anger. "I think I would be a little concerned about my son's room if I went in there and I found sawed-off shotgun barrels."

In addition, a neighbor has described the racket caused the night before the attack when, apparently, the two boys smashed a large bag of bottles so they could pack broken glass around their bombs.

The 150 investigators working on the case began reinterviewing some witnesses over the weekend. They have catalogued about 2,000 pieces of evidence, including bomb fragments and spent shotgun shells.



Students embracing at a makeshift memorial for their slain classmates at Columbine High School.

The police, Governor Owen said, were matching the used shells and cartridges to the guns used by the shooters in an effort to determine whether a third gunman was on the scene.

Governor Owen would not confirm a report that one person questioned by the police, possibly a member of the so-called Trench Coat Mafia to which the boys belonged, had failed a lie-detector test.

The shooting has sparked an impassioned nationwide debate on the availability of guns and on the culture of violence that appears to thrive among small groups of disaffected young people.

Denver canceled a National Rifle Association convention after the Columbine shooting. The NRA executive vice president, Wayne LaPierre, called Sunday for tougher and more consistent prosecution

of people violating gun laws.

Dylan Klebold was buried Saturday in a private service. The Klebold and Harris families have expressed deep apologies in statements released by their attorneys.

On Saturday, about 3,000 people gathered for a memorial service for one victim, Rachel Scott, 17, singing "Amazing Grace" as many wept or sobbed. Ms. Scott's funeral was the first in what will be a week of services for the victims.

## Venezuelans Cast Votes On Redoing Constitution Opponents Fear 'Complete Power' for President

By Larry Rohter  
New York Times Service

CARACAS — For the past month, President Hugo Chavez of Venezuela has been demanding that Congress be dissolved and threatening to declare a state of emergency, which would allow him to rule by decree.

He has also said he would disband the Supreme Court after it rebuked him as exceeding his authority. And he has derided leaders of the main opposition party as "a nest of dying venomous vipers."

Against that contentious backdrop, Venezuelans went to the polls Sunday to vote on convening a constitutional congress that would write a new charter for the country. If they approve the proposal, as expected, Mr. Chavez is more likely to get the expanded powers he wants, soon.

Advisers to the president say his purpose in stirring up turbulence recently was to ensure that his supporters turned out to vote.

At the peak of the confrontation two weeks ago, the president's followers blocked the entrance to Congress for two days, shouting insults at lawmakers and stopping them from entering or leaving the building. On Thursday, an abashed, discredited and weary Congress approved a law giving Mr. Chavez fast-track authority to rule by decree on economic matters for the next six months.

But the president has made clear he will settle for nothing less than a complete overhaul of the Venezuelan state.

"Institutions in Venezuela have broken into pieces," he said in March, "and it is necessary to rebuild them."

"Until we reconstruct the architecture of a political system that has lost legitimacy and ethical content, whose powers are worn-out and decadent," President Chavez said, "it will not be possible to carry out an integrated national project of social, economic, political and cultural development."

But opposition leaders say the president's real objective is to establish a dictatorship under the cloak of law. They point out that Mr. Chavez has said he wants any new constitution to allow him a second consecutive five-year term, something the current charter prohibits.

In an open letter last week, former President Rafael Caldera said that his conscience would not let him take part in a vote he described as aimed at destroying, not strengthening, the rule of law. He called Mr. Chavez's insistence on eliminating the prohibition on consecutive terms particularly dangerous.

Senator Alberto Franceschi, a member of the Project Venezuela Party, said: "He wants us to give him a blank check, to sign everything over to him. He wants complete power, as in a banana republic, so that his followers can go to the constituent assembly and propose a tropical monarchy with Chavez as emperor."

Questions also have been raised about the government's efforts to ensure that voters endorse the constitutional congress. Citing equal-time provisions in the electoral code, the National Electoral Commission last week ordered the president's press office to stop official advertisements and television commercials urging a "Yes" vote.

But Mr. Chavez's calls to sweep away an inefficient state apparatus seem to have struck a deep chord among Venezuelans, many of whom feel that the country's vast oil wealth — the country is the largest exporter of oil to the United States — has been squandered. Recent polls show that Mr. Chavez, who won 57 percent of the vote in the presidential election in December, has a job-approval rating of more than 80 percent at the moment.

"The constitution of 1961 is a straitjacket that needs to be removed," said Jose Cabeza, a bellhop at a hotel in Caracas. "It was drawn up not to enable the people to express their will but to permit a pack of corrupt politicians to line their pockets and perpetuate themselves in power."

Mr. Chavez is a 44-year-old former lieutenant colonel who tried to overthrow an elected civilian government in 1992. Afterward he was cashiered from the army and spent two years in jail. But since declaring as an independent candidate last year, he has been calling for a "peaceful revolution."

Upon taking office, Mr. Chavez immediately began calling for a new constitution to bring, he said, "a true democracy" to Venezuela. His proposal calls for a constitutional assembly of 131 elected members.

On other matters, such as his plans for a faltering economy and rebalancing oil exports, he has been less outspoken.

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## n U.S. Beef

Union said Wed- could ban U.S. beef as 15 unless Wash- e meat had no hormones. Page 11.

Page 7. Page 5. Pages 6-7. Pages 18-19. www.ihb.com

## Away From Politics

Thousands of people, some of whom had traveled from as far as France, attended a rally in Philadelphia to demand a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal, the former Black Panther who was sentenced to death for the 1981 killing of a police officer, Daniel Faulkner. (AP)

Police discovered and dismantled five bombs early Saturday that had been planted just outside police stations in the Montreal area. About 400 officers made a late-night search around 21 police stations after an anonymous caller directed them to a phone booth that contained a letter warning that bombs had been

planted outside the stations. No one claimed to have planted the bombs, and the letter did not say why police stations had been targeted. (AP)

Monica Lewinsky, the former White House intern, became so distraught by the questions Matt Lauer asked her on NBC's "Today" show Saturday that she canceled a series of national radio interviews she had promised to do that afternoon. Her publisher at St. Martin's Press, which published her book, "Monica's Story," later said she would not do any more interviews in the United States. (WP)

## The Battle for Kosovo / Chipping Away at Yugoslavia

# NATO Raids Shatter Serb Economy

Extensive Attacks Leave Control of Kosovo Intact

By Michael Dobbs  
Washington Post Staff Writer

**BELGRADE** — As the NATO air campaign against Yugoslavia enters its second month, allied bombing has achieved one significant result: the destruction of large chunks of the country's economic infrastructure.

The economy, already reeling from the effects of eight years of international sanctions and decades of mismanagement, is being dismantled piece by piece. Yugoslav officials say that the damage from NATO bombs has reached the \$100 billion mark. By some estimates, the bombing has set Yugoslavia back one or even two decades.

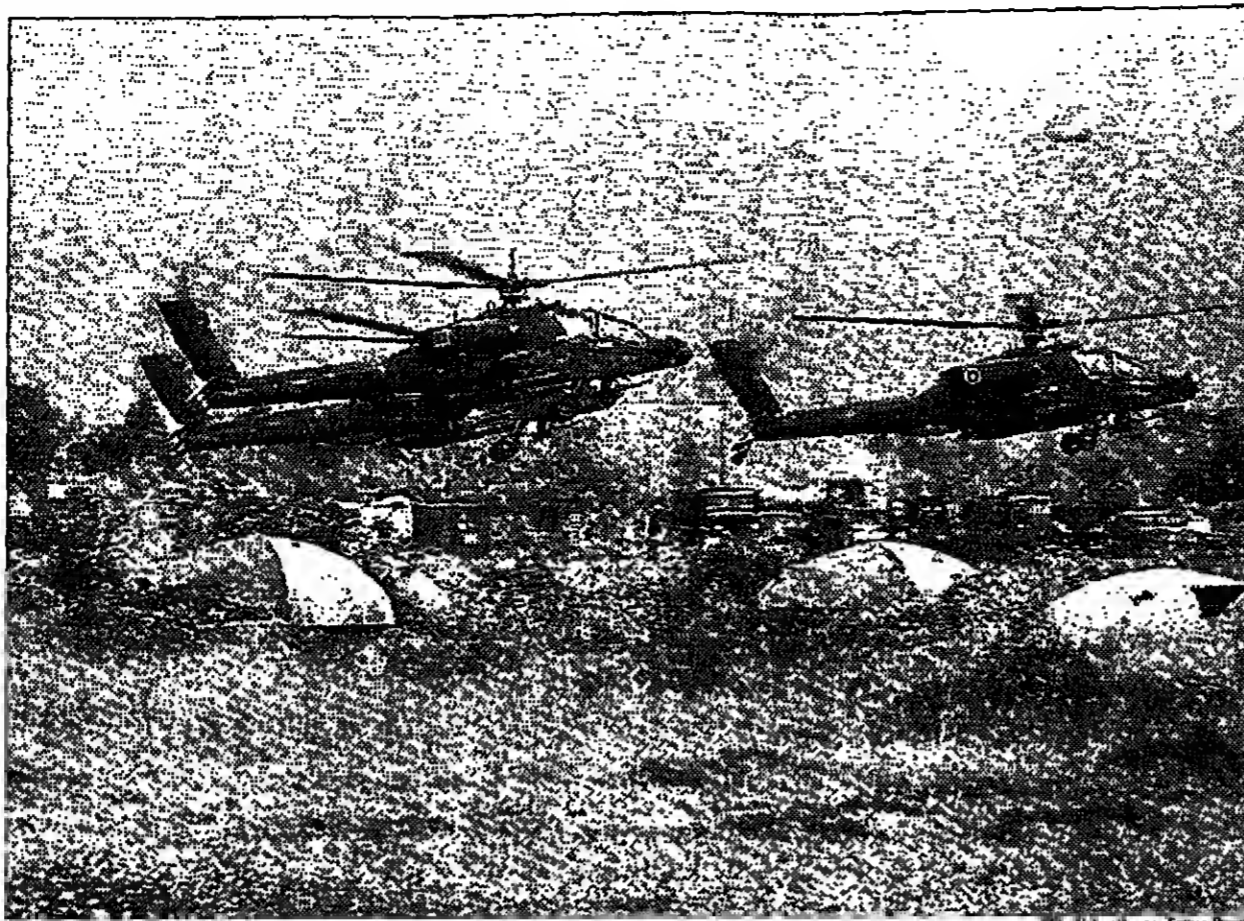
While NATO air attacks have not loosened the Yugoslav military's stranglehold on the Serbian province of Kosovo and its ethnic Albanian inhabitants, they have devastated targets ranging from the country's two biggest oil refineries, in Pancevo and Novi Sad, to the Zastava factory at Kragujevac, which produced the Yugo car and employed some 15,000 workers.

The bombing has cut all but one of the bridges across the Danube River, severely limiting communication between the agricultural region of Vojvodina in the north and the rest of Yugoslavia.

Other targets have included chemical, drug, cigarette, shoe and light aircraft factories as well as television transmitters, railroad stations and airports.

The bombings have slowed the country's economic life to a virtual standstill. Schools and universities have been closed, and hundreds of thousands of factory workers have been laid off. To save fuel, Belgrade authorities have reduced the number of public buses from 1,000 to 500.

The economic effects of the bombing are clearly visible in Krusevac, a city of 150,000 people that in the 14th century was the capital of an empire that included much of present-day Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece. Today, Krusevac is in a sorry state. With the destruction of its largest factories by NATO bombs, unemployment is escalating, and prospects



Three Apache attack helicopters passing over Communist-era pillboxes Sunday on the way to landing in Tirana, Albania, as NATO reinforced its forces there with seven more Apaches and six Blackhawk helicopters.

for economic reconstruction seem bleak.

On April 12, NATO warplanes attacked a heating plant on the edge of the town, reducing it to a smoldering heap of rubble and twisted metal. They went on to hit the region's biggest factory, the October 14 plant, which produced bulldozers, excavators and other heavy machinery. What was left standing was destroyed in a second raid three days later.

"This was the biggest heavy-machinery plant in the Balkans," said Nebojsa Toskovic, the factory's deputy general manager, as he took reporters on a tour of the ruins. "Without machinery from this factory, the country will be unable to reconstruct all the bridges and everything else that has been destroyed by NATO."

NATO officials contend that the October 14 plant was producing military materials and was therefore a legitimate target, but they have not produced conclusive evidence to support their claim. People here fail to see how the destruction of the October 14 factory in Krusevac and the nearby heating plant will help advance NATO war aims in Kosovo. Some suspect that the factory was destroyed

simply because it was an easy target. It is much easier to hit a fixed target such as a factory or a bridge than to go after security forces in Kosovo, who are well hidden and constantly on the move.

Despite more than four weeks of bombing, Kosovo remains under the firm control of Yugoslav Army and Serbian security forces, ethnic Albanians continue to be driven from their homes, and the political position of Mr. Milosevic appears stronger than ever.

There is little evidence that either Mr. Milosevic or Serbs in general are about to crack under the strain. Having already lost their jobs and their livelihoods, the workers at the October 14 factory would seem to have little left to lose by further resistance to NATO and therefore little incentive to support a peace deal that would create what amounts to an international protectorate for Kosovo, which Serbs regard as the cradle of their civilization.

"This is an attack against the Serb people," said Miroslav Andrejic, a security guard who was on duty the night NATO bombed the October 14 plant. "People are bitter and confused. No one

believed that we would be attacked by the West."

The government is already making plans for the economic reconstruction of the country, using domestic resources. Many of these plans are based on Yugoslavia's experience after World War II, when brigades of enthusiastic "volunteers" were mobilized for big projects such as the Zagreb-Belgrade highway. Without large-scale investment, however, rebuilding technologically sophisticated plants such as the Zastava car factory and the October 14 plant will be difficult.

### NATO Hits TV and Barracks

NATO bombed targets across Yugoslavia on Sunday, halting television broadcasts and hitting a barracks and chemical plant. Reuters reported from Washington.

In a relatively quiet 32d night of air raids, hampered by clouds, NATO warplanes bombed a chemical plant in central Serbia and a barracks and industrial sites in the southern city of Nis.

Serbian television went off the air for several hours after an attack on a transmitter near Belgrade.

## GOALS: Long on Ideals, Short on Specifics

Continued from Page 1

tions to come.

But beyond the terms laid out by NATO when the bombing began on March 24 for a withdrawal of President Slobodan Milosevic's forces from Kosovo and four other elements, the summit meeting's victory discussion came out short on scope. The broadest questions had no answers here:

• How much of the force entering Kosovo would NATO provide, and was the alliance, with the United States at its head, going to be the main political element in determining the future of the Balkans?

• Was the United States really signing on to prosecute a war and then turn over management of the outcome to a committee that would include NATO allies but also Russia, the United Nations and the European Union?

Demanding definitions now of what winning or prevailing meant on these points, the participant suggested, was certain to cause trouble.

But in public, at one of his news conferences, President Jacques Chirac of France described a victory he said was already at hand. It was, he explained, the demonstration that human rights had been elevated in the West to the point where citizens of NATO countries would authorize military action to protect them. "There are just wars," he said, "and this war will have taught us that."

Mr. Chirac appeared radiant, as if he, very much like his European counterparts, Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain and Chancellor Gerhard Schröder of Germany, was confident of having a very good war.

The level of satisfaction was such that it exposed a certainty: If there were any real victories coming out of the Yugoslav engagement so far, they were less over the Milosevic regime than for the national strategic goals of each of NATO's central component countries in Europe. Only the United States appeared hard-pressed to argue that it was prevailing, too.

France, which continues officially to stand outside the alliance's military wing, scored notable points. Its strong military participation served to legitimize its stance at NATO's edge, demonstrating it could be a loyal ally while taking an independent, even provocative stance on other issues.

From the point of view of French policy-making, its full participation in the war demonstrates that it is the indispensable European country, capable militarily in ways that Germany still cannot rival, while engaged in the affairs of the European Union in a manner that is beyond the reach of Britain.

Mr. Chirac's proposal that the EU — "naturally," he said Friday — take over the administration of Kosovo after the war is meant to single France out as the driving political-military force in Europe. And its efforts to limit the use of unilateral U.S. power through multilateral bodies like the UN Security Council can now appear more like sincere concerns than eternally crabby anti-Americanism.

Indeed, in two news conferences, Mr. Chirac avoided any specific mention of NATO or the United States in talking about the international force that would enter Kosovo as part of a victory scenario.

For Britain, the Yugoslav situation has allowed Mr. Blair to re-emphasize the uniqueness of his country's ability to maintain especially confident relations with the United States from within a European context. Of all the alliance leaders in Washington, Mr. Blair was the only one with a clear impact on Congress, offering a message understood as placing more reliance on a military solution than the U.S. government's.

At the same time, Britain's high-profile involvement helps to maintain it as an essential element in discussions of Europe's strategic future and tends to cancel out the perception of Britain within the EU as less than fully European, standing outside the European Monetary Union.

Within Europe, the war has also pointed to the significance of Britain's efforts with France to establish a European component of the alliance that would be able to call on U.S. military assets for interventions that did not include American participation. The initiative would have no chance of success in American

eyes without the now reaffirmed place of Britain as a uniquely trusted associate.

The victories close to home extend to Germany, whose support for the bombing and dispatch of aircraft is regarded by Mr. Schröder's government as a demonstration of how much the country has emerged as a co-equal within the alliance's leadership and concert of nations.

The chancellor's own performance, including statements that the war "will be won because it must be won," has given him an appearance of solidity and confidence that had escaped Mr. Schröder during a generally ineffective first five months in power.

Both France and Germany, with an interest in future partnerships, considered that they won meaningful battles in advocating Russia's now acknowledged role in seeking a Kosovo solution.

If the war went no further, Mr. Schröder would undoubtedly be pleased to pocket his gains. His victories, however, could be diminished through resistance to deployment of ground troops by trade unions, church organizations, his coalition partner, the Greens, and the left wing of his own party.

For the Americans, there have been no intermediate private victories of the kind that can only provide satisfaction to the French, British and Germans. The United States deals rather with obligations: to provide about four-fifths of the aircraft in the theater, but moreover to make certain, in its view, that the alliance actually does prevail and that the terms of victory do not diminish NATO as guarantor of security in large parts of the world.

So far, there was nothing besides the American statements of intent to indicate that this was destined to be.

## EMBARGO: Alliance Orders Plan

Continued from Page 1

it's O.K. with us if people want to continue to supply this nation and its outlaws actions in Kosovo in another way?"

### Clark Wants to Stop Oil

Dana Priest and Bradley Graham of The Washington Post reported earlier from Washington.

General Wesley Clark, the supreme NATO commander, particularly wants to interdict oil shipments coming into the Adriatic port of Bar in Montenegro, which is the smaller partner with Serbia in the Yugoslav federation.

The oil shipments, which grew to 50,000 metric tons over the last three weeks, are being used by Yugoslav forces in the crackdown against ethnic Albanian guerrillas and civilians in the Serbian province of Kosovo.

NATO defense ministers have also discussed bombing and mining ports and oil-shipment routes in Montenegro, European and U.S. officials said.

But they have expressed reluctance to embrace these tactics for fear that they might alienate the Western-oriented government of President Milo Djukanovic of Montenegro.

Oil refineries and storage tanks have been a primary target of NATO air strikes since the first day of bombardment March 24, but sea routes were not on the list.

"It's absurd we didn't have a blockade at the start," said retired Admiral Leighton (Stuffy) Smith, a former commander of NATO's southern region.

NATO has used its strikes against fuel-related targets as its most concrete example that the air war is working. Pentagon and NATO defense officials say air strikes have cut the Yugoslav army's fuel supply by 70 percent and destroyed oil refineries in Novi Sad and Pancevo.

But U.S. intelligence reports show that Yugoslavia has been able to import oil from Russia, Ukraine and Greece. Many of the shipments first arrive at a port in Koper, Slovenia. From there, they are being picked up by other ships and brought to Bar, these reports say.

The NATO defense ministers settled on an approach they called "visit and search" as less intrusive than a full blockade, Pentagon officials said. But it was unclear what NATO ships would do if a vessel refused to be searched.

## After Month of Air Strikes, NATO Far From Victory

Raids Fail to Break Resilient Serbian Forces

By Steven Lee Myers  
and Eric Schmitt  
New York Times Staff Writers

**WASHINGTON** — As NATO leaders met to consider their next moves against Yugoslavia, the alliance's commander, General Wesley Clark, offered a strikingly optimistic view of progress so far.

"We're winning, Milosevic is losing and he knows it," General Clark said Sunday in Tirana, Albania, repeating his theme of the last few days.

NATO is, in fact, far from defeating President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia.

A month into the air campaign in the Balkans, Yugoslavia has withstood nearly 3,000 combat raids and shown no signs of breaking, Mr. Milosevic has succeeded in expelling hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians from Kosovo, routing the rebels fighting for independence and strengthening his support among Serbs.

The allied campaign has stumbled over problems foreseeable and unforeseeable, from political limitations on its early strikes to uncooperative weather to surprisingly effective tactics by Yugoslav air defenses that keep NATO pilots guessing.

The air defenses have forced the alliance to change its raids, putting off the low-flying patrols that could make a difference against the Yugoslav tanks and artillery that are battering villages in Kosovo. The 24 Apache attack helicopters that arrived in Albania to much fanfare last week now are not expected to begin flying combat strikes for many more days or weeks, officials said, in large part because NATO raids have not knocked out enough of the air defenses to make them safe.

"I don't know what's been done right here," said Michael Dugan, a retired general who served as chief of staff of the U.S. Air Force. "The air war has been carried out without much political will or military decisiveness."

It is difficult to assess winners and losers after only one month of conflict: 30 days after Iraqi forces seized Kuwait in August 1990, for example, it was unclear how Washington and its allies would evict them.

In the Pentagon's latest damage assessment, the director of intelligence for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Rear Admiral Thomas Wilson, described Yugoslavia's military and police forces as badly strained, running low on fuel and ammunition and harassed by a down-but-not-out Kosovo Liberation Army.

But Yugoslavia's forces have been resilient. A defense intelligence official said forces in the field had learned from Iraq's mistakes in the Gulf War, and, rather than confronting NATO airpower head-on, they have tried with some success to slip out of its reach.

"They went to school," the official said. "They've learned how to offset our advantages."

And it was only a matter of hours after

U.S. F-117 fighters leveled Yugoslavia's state-run television station in Belgrade that the Serbs were broadcasting again from backup complexes.

To commanders at NATO and the Pentagon, Mr. Milosevic's achievements thus far are fleeting, tactical gains that have brought him little strategic advantage. The expulsion of Albanians, which has distracted the alliance with a parallel relief operation, has only served to harden the resolve of NATO's 19 members. They now are willing to approve attacks on more sensitive targets, such as the president's homes and the television station.

The allies insist that time and firepower are on NATO's side, though time may be what is needed most.

"Milosevic will run out of bullets and gas long before we do," a Pentagon official said.

Meanwhile, Yugoslavia's ability to endure the strikes has left NATO no option but to step up the size and scope of its campaign far more than it envisioned when the attacks began March 24. General Clark has asked the Pentagon for 300 additional warplanes and other allies for dozens more. The planes would raise the total to more than 1,000, more than double the number on hand when the raids started.

The alliance must equip itself militarily and politically for future Kosovo-style interventions.

On the most controversial point, whether or not NATO always needs a UN Security Council mandate to take military action or can decide on intervention alone, as the member countries did on Kosovo, the United States accepted compromise language that U.S. officials said preserved the essentials of NATO's freedom of action.

The document did not stipulate that NATO would operate "under the authority of the Security Council." That phrase, they said, had been pushed by France but rejected by allies who feared that it would give Russia a veto over NATO actions.

With air strikes going into their 33d day, allied commanders said Sunday that they were moving toward around-the-clock bombing.

In pledging to defend countries that are giving facilities to NATO's air war, Mr. Clinton in effect gave temporary security guarantees to non-NATO nations that back the allies and fear that Slobodan Milosevic, the president of Yugoslavia, will try to destabilize their governments.

"NATO will respond to any actions by Serbia against its neighbors as a result of NATO presence on their territory during this crisis," Mr. Clinton said. "Or to any move to undermine the democratically elected government of Montenegro."

It was the strongest statement yet by a NATO leader about Montenegro, Serbia's smaller partner in the Yugoslav federation. The mountainous republic controls Belgrade's access to the sea, including its unloading facilities for oil, which NATO now wants to interdict from receiving deliveries for Serbia.

The frontline states include Hungary, which recently joined the alliance and is stepping up its activity against Serbia despite fears for the ethnic Hungarian population in northern Serbia.



President Jacques Chirac of France, left, and Chancellor Gerhard Schröder of Germany during a NATO meeting Sunday in Washington.

## SUMMIT: Leaders Stick With Air War and Agree to Protect Frontline Countries Against Intimidation by Serbia

Continued from Page 1

Other frontline states are Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Romania and Slovenia, all of which want to join the alliance. They see membership and economic aid as possible rewards for their willingness to confront domestic tensions and the risk of Serbian reprisals.

Maintaining regional stability while eroding Serbian strength was the formula for success, Mr. Clinton said. "If we are prepared to take the time, and do our very best to care for the refugees as best we can in the meanwhile and to provide stability and support for the frontline states."

Mr. Clinton, who was one of the leaders most reluctant about a ground war, summit participants said, appealed repeatedly for people to allow the air campaign time to succeed.

In a closed-door briefing for the leaders, General Wesley Clark, NATO's commander, told alliance leaders that air strikes alone eventually would break the Serbian military grip on Kosovo.

British pressure for a ground campaign succeeded in getting that option "back on the table," military strategists involved in the consultations said. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said, "We are not planning an armed invasion." But British officials insisted that there was growing recognition that troops were going to be needed at some point.

NATO leaders made several decisions that will tatchet up the air campaign. They authorized General Clark to strike military targets as fast as possible to take advantage of NATO's improving air reconnaissance and to capitalize on weather breaks.

The previous system, which required approval from NATO ambassadors of nightly target lists, proved too cumbersome. General Clark will have an expanded list of targets, but there will still be a master list approved by NATO ambassadors and reflecting some political constraints against an all-out air assault on Serbia.

The United States and Britain announced that they were moving troop reinforcements into Albania, which soon will have 20,000 allied soldiers, most of them from elite units such as the 82d Airborne. Most of the U.S. troops will work with the Apache ground-attack helicopters that are supposed to go into action this week or next, U.S. officials said, and start knocking out Serbian tanks.

Hungary disclosed that it was making three air bases available to NATO, enabling allied warplanes to be over the important northern outposts of the Serbian air-defense system almost constantly. All the other frontline countries have announced that they are opening their airspace, and in some cases their facilities, to NATO planes.

Voicing what a German official called "absolute resolve" in prevail in Kosovo, allied leaders were publicly united in supporting the expanded air war. But privately, officials said there were fears in most European countries that the air campaign alone could not save Kosovar refugees and may take too long for continued public support.

But even countries such as Greece and Italy, with

domestic opposition to the campaign, avoided any split in the alliance.

Unanimity was more strained in the "strategic concept" document signed Saturday by the 19 leaders about how the North Atlantic Treaty Organization should evolve and where some political divergences led to watered-down language about new authority that Washington and most allies want for NATO.

After its successful half-century as a defensive force organized to block a Warsaw Pact aggression on its member states, NATO is reorganizing itself as a regional policeman, prepared to use political pressure and military force in crises that threaten Western interests around Europe.

Contested by Russia and viewed with suspicion as a precedent for intervention across borders by China and many neutral countries, the new NATO role raises concerns even among some allies. France, in particular, does not want to see NATO gain political authority that would help U.S. influence overshadow the European Union. Diplomatic bargaining continued right through the summit's first days and nights.

NATO's insistence that it can act alone, in the spirit of United Nations institutions, when it has consensus among its 19 members, all democracies, is still a controversial concept.

But a salient passage underlined the unique role of the alliance on security for Europe: "NATO remains the essential forum for consultation among the allies and the forum for agreement on policies bearing on the security and defense commitments of its members," the text said.

On the other key question about an expanded NATO role, the document said that the allies' pursuit of stability for their countries meant that NATO had to tackle "uncertainty and instability in and around the Euro-Atlantic area and the possibility of regional crises at the periphery of the alliance, which could evolve rapidly."

### More Troops Go to Albania

Washington Post Staff Writer

**WASHINGTON** — As NATO's air campaign directed its fury against more politically sensitive targets in Yugoslavia, the Pentagon announced that it was sending 2,050 more ground troops to Albania, along with tanks and armored vehicles.

Pentagon officials said the additional troops would join 3,300 U.S. soldiers already in Albania or on the way. They were dispatched, they said, to increase protection for the Apache helicopters that are to begin operations soon.

سكدا من الرشى

## The Battle for Kosovo / NATO's Fight for Hearts and Minds

## Greece Struggles Between NATO Loyalty and Affinity With Serbs

By Alessandra Stanley  
New York Times Service

ATHENS — Anti-American demonstrations, like dinner, start late in Athens. But for some Greek teenagers, too young to remember similar riots of the 1960s and 1970s, protesting against the United States is still novel.

Hours before protesters and riot policemen clashed in front of the U.S. Embassy on Thursday night, two sisters, Eleni and Constantina Vafiadou, sat by a fountain in Constitution Square expectantly ready to register their anger over the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia.

"It's like what Ashley told Scarlett," Constantina said, referring to characters in "Gone With the Wind." "After all the war and destruction, nobody remembers what they were fighting about in the first place."

Sympathy for the Serbs and a cultural affinity with the United States are deeply rooted in Greece. But the latter sentiment is being sharply tested. More than any other country in NATO, Greece has been struggling between loyalty to the Western alliance and outrage over the bombing nearby.

While Prime Minister Costas Simitis was attending the NATO anniversary summit meeting in Washington this weekend and has restated Greece's support, back home Greeks of every age and political conviction are voicing fierce opposition to what they view as an unjust war.

Some of the wrath stems from Greek ties to Serbia, a historic ally and key trading partner that shares the Orthodox Christian faith. Much of it is caused by anxiety over what a new war in the region could do to Greece's fragile economy and

uneasy borders. But it is fueled by a revival of anti-American sentiment that, though dormant, has never really died.

Greece, which has been steering toward full integration with Europe, now finds itself pulled back into a tragic Balkan history and into feelings that the United States played a pivotal role in Greek suffering. Greeks blame the United States for supporting the military dictatorship of the late 1960s and early '70s and for failing to prevent the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. The bombing has not only created new fears but has also resurrected old grievances.

"America, way on the other side of the world, keeps interfering in something that is not their business and that will not affect them," said Margaret Liaveris, 25, a civil servant.

Her views, among them a fear that the conflict could destabilize the region and reignite tension with Turkey, are widely shared. A recent poll published by the largest daily newspaper in Greece, Ta Nea, indicated that more than 95

percent of Greeks oppose the bombing. Some 63.5 percent of those polled expressed a favorable view of President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia. And 94.4 percent said they had a negative view of President Bill Clinton.

Greek newspapers and television have fanned public discontent, stressing the suffering of Serbian civilians over the plight of Albanian refugees from Kosovo. That has alarmed the country's 500,000 Albanian immigrants, who mostly work illegally and are viewed with suspicion by many Greeks.

"I ask myself, why is Greece supporting Serbia; aren't they in NATO?" a 52-year-old unemployed immigrant said.

Some Greek journalists agree that there is an imbalance. "Greek television shows the exact opposite of what Americans see," said Stelios Koulogrou, a well-known television documentary filmmaker. "On CNN you see 80 percent refugees and 20 percent Serbs. On our channels it is the reverse."

Coverage of American news, meanwhile, is newly shaded by the war.

To the newspaper Ethnos, a center-left daily, the killings at a high school in Colorado last week had a direct link in NATO bombings. "The violence that Pentagon hawks are using in their foreign policy has boomeranged on social life in the U.S.," a front-page headline said Thursday.

"The evidence is overwhelming: 10,000 assaults in American schools each year."

Greeks have not taken their anger out on their government, which has given NATO access to two air bases and its land routes into Macedonia, and is seeking a cautious balance between loyalty to NATO and support for a cease-fire. Since the crisis broke out, Mr. Simitis's ratings have risen.

"There is a silent majority that feels that Greece has no choice but to be prudent, prudent," said Thanos Veremis, who runs a foreign policy research institute in Athens. "We are a small, weak country and people feel that poor Simitis has no choice for now."

He said he saw a bleak future for Europe if NATO failed in Kosovo.

"If this is the case, then I don't see any future for the democratic process in Europe as a whole," Mr. Adamkus said. "Whenever a condition will dictate, you can expect a new dictator to get up and destroy the order among peace-loving people."

A similar note was sounded by the president of Latvia, Guntis Ulimanis, who said in an interview: "I see no alternative except for NATO, and I think we can guarantee security for Latvia only through NATO in the future."

Mr. Ulimanis said most Latvians empathized with the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo because many Latvians had endured deportation while under Soviet rule. "It rings distant bells," said Mr. Ulimanis, who was exiled to Siberia in 1941 for six years. "We have been refugees ourselves."

Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek of Slovenia said: "This kind of role with military intervention is to protect human rights, military rights and prevent human catastrophes. This should, of course, prevent other dictators."

## Applicants Back Alliance on Kosovo

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — If any of the European nations waiting for admission to NATO had misgivings about joining an alliance whose future could hinge on the outcome of the gradually escalating war in Yugoslavia, the misgivings were not apparent when their leaders came to Washington to participate on the fringes of the 19-member NATO summit meeting.

With degrees of enthusiasm ranging from strident and downright bawls to measured and circumspect, leaders of prospective NATO nations said they support not only the bombing campaign in the Kosovo conflict but also the introduction of NATO ground troops, if it comes to that.

Some offered refinements — such as a need for United Nations approval for any deployment of ground troops — but the overwhelming point of views in interviews with the heads of government of candidate nations was that the future of European stability depended on the alliance's ability to deal swiftly and conclusively with President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia and his efforts to "cleanse" Kosovo of ethnic Albanians.

The leaders of the would-be NATO nations came to the summit meeting armed with glossy promotional brochures touting their countries' qualifications for NATO membership and with English-speaking aides to brief reporters on the depth of their commitment to NATO's military success in Yugoslavia.

The outcome of the Kosovo crisis has assumed an added dimension because of the widely held view that if NATO fails to meet its objectives in Yugoslavia, the impetus to expand the alliance would probably collapse. NATO would move to the margins of European defense strategy, and some of the candidate nations would lose interest in joining.

Even Slovakia, which was excluded in 1997 from the first expansion group of NATO applicants because of a lack of commitment to democracy under its authoritarian prime minister, Vladimir Meciar, has embraced NATO's principles and objectives under its new prime minister, Mikulas Dzurinda.

"If ground troops will be necessary, we will always stay on the side of NATO," Mr. Dzurinda, who defeated Mr. Meciar in September, said Saturday. "Milosevic cannot win. It would be a very dangerous precedent."

Stressing that "Slovakia after the election is a new country," Mr. Dzurinda noted that his government had opened Slovak airspace to NATO warplanes and had agreed to give the Western alliance ground access along a rail and highway corridor as well.

"You can observe that Slovakia is not

yet a NATO member, but our actions make us a de facto member," Mr. Dzurinda said. "We behave as if we already were a member."

But Slovakia continues to be viewed as at the bottom of the eligibility list for alliance expansion, he acknowledged.

Lithuania, which along with Slovenia is most often cited as being at the top of the list for the next expansion round, also pledged its backing of NATO in the war effort. President Valdas Adamkus said Lithuania is on an "irreversible course" to join the alliance no matter what happens in Kosovo. He said his country supported not only the use of alliance ground forces, if necessary, but also a naval blockade to shut off Mr. Milosevic's oil supplies and whatever other measures are required.

"NATO has to use every avenue to stop the resistance of Yugoslavia's forces," Mr. Adamkus said. "Whatever means it takes should be used, with no restrictions, to save human lives."

Mr. Adamkus settled in the United States after Soviet troops retook Lithuania from Nazi Germany in 1944 and returned home in 1997 to make a presidential bid.

He said he saw a bleak future for Europe if NATO failed in Kosovo.

"If this is the case, then I don't see any future for the democratic process in Europe as a whole," Mr. Adamkus said. "Whenever a condition will dictate, you can expect a new dictator to get up and destroy the order among peace-loving people."

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## Jesse Jackson to Intervene

By Alan Friedman  
International Herald Tribune

ROME — The Reverend Jesse Jackson, the U.S. civil rights activist and former presidential candidate, said Sunday that he will fly to the Balkans on Monday in a bid to meet President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia and seek the release of three U.S. soldiers held by the Serbs.

"We all have a great sense of agony about the violence in the Kosovo, and we want to break the cycle of violence," Mr. Jackson said. "So a group of Serbian-American ministers, Muslim ministers and rabbis will go to Kosovo to meet with religious leaders and with President Milosevic himself in order to make an appeal to see the Americans being held captive there released."

Mr. Jackson declined to say where and when he would meet with Mr. Milosevic. "We cannot share that information," he said, citing security reasons. But he disclosed that he had discussed the Kosovo trip with President Bill Clinton. "He knows about it," Mr. Jackson said, "but this is not a political trip, not a White House-sponsored trip. It is a humanitarian mission."

The release of the three U.S. captives, he added, "could be a circuit breaker, and it could open a small window of dialogue, because we must choose co-existence over co-annihilation, we must

try to be peacemakers to break the cycle of violence."

When asked if he believed his mission had any chance of succeeding, Mr. Jackson cited past successes and said that negotiations with Mr. Milosevic were inevitable.

"Ultimately, he must be talked with," Mr. Jackson said. "When I went to Syria to see Assad in 1983 to negotiate the release of navy Lieutenant Robert Goodman, many thought we couldn't talk with him, but we did and it worked. I also talked with Fidel Castro in Cuba and gained the release of 14 Americans who were held captive there, and I went and met with Saddam Hussein in Iraq before the Gulf War started and gained the release of 500 women who were being used as human shields. I believe you must talk with people."

Mr. Jackson, whose unconventional approach is being made amid signs that Mr. Milosevic is feeling the pressure of NATO's month-old bombing campaign, insisted that if he could win the release of U.S. prisoners this could be a precursor to a negotiated end to the war.

"We must use all our energies to get all parties back to the negotiating table," he said in an interview with International Herald Tribune Television to be broadcast Monday on the RAI News 24 satellite channel in Italy. "I believe religious leaders in a dialogue can be factors in a solution."

## Yugoslavia Uncontested at Low Altitude

By Eric Schmitt  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — NATO's growing armada of warplanes dominates the skies over Yugoslavia, but only down to a few hundred feet off the ground.

Below that altitude, small but deadly Yugoslav helicopter gunships and ground-attack planes are waging a tree-top air war, taking advantage of the hilly, wooded terrain and NATO's focus on bombing armored forces, to terrorize ethnic Albanians and blast rebel fighters in Kosovo.

NATO officials say that effectively grounding Yugoslav's low fliers would require diverting scores of planes from a campaign that has already been criticized by some U.S. Air Force generals for not launching larger waves of bombing runs and hitting more targets.

Moreover, NATO jets would have to fly much lower to target the Yugoslav aircraft, putting allied pilots at greater risk from ground fire and surface-to-air missiles.

So while refugees streaming into Albania have reported strafings or bombings by low-flying green planes — the color of most of Yugoslavia's aircraft — NATO commanders say the threat does not justify dramatically altering the tactics of the allied air campaign.

"If they succeed in taking off, their mission has to be short, has to be of limited size and with limited scope," Brigadier General Giuseppe Marani of Italy, a NATO spokesman, said in dismissing the significance of the Yugoslav Air Force.

While NATO is not ignoring this air threat, its main goal is to attack armored forces and special police in the field, as well as the supply lines and command bunkers north of Kosovo that support them.

NATO has also put a high priority on destroying Yugoslavia's most advanced aircraft, MiG-29 and MiG-21 fighters, which pose a more direct threat to allied warplanes.

Four other types of Yugoslav aircraft can take off and land quickly on remote landing strips, and cruise low enough to duck under the gaze of AWACS radar planes: the Galeb and Smerg Galeb attack helicopters, the Gazelle and Hind attack helicopters. These aircraft can also operate effectively under the same clouds and bad weather that have thwarted scores of NATO warplanes flying above 15,000 feet (4,500 meters).

The Super Galeb, in particular, have



CARRIED TO SAFETY — An ethnic Albanian conveying a refugee to a bus Sunday in Blace, Macedonia, on the border with Yugoslavia.

effectively attacked mountain strongholds of the Kosovo Liberation Army. The light attack planes are equipped with 23mm guns and anti-personnel cluster bombs.

Last week, NATO reported an increase in attacks by Yugoslav planes and helicopters.

Allied jets were not close enough to strike the Yugoslav aircraft, NATO commanders said. But U.S. military intelligence said that the low-flying aircraft had curtailed their missions as the week went on.

The Pentagon estimates that allied jets have destroyed nearly three dozen of Belgrade's low-end fighter-bombers. "We have reduced by probably around 50 percent his airborne ability to conduct ground-attack operations," said Rear Admiral Thomas Wilson, director of intelligence for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, referring to President Slobodan Milosevic.

Many of these ground-attack planes were based at airfields in Nis, in Serbia, and in Podgorica, in Montenegro, General Wilson said.

Because all of Yugoslavia is a combat area, allied jets are, in effect, enforcing a no-fly zone over the entire country. But

the scope of this air campaign is much broader than what American-led patrols are enforcing over northern and southern Iraq.

The allies created no-fly zones in those two areas after the 1991 Gulf War to prevent President Saddam Hussein from attacking Kurds in the north and Shiites in the south.

In Yugoslavia, allied pilots are attacking scores of targets every day, from fuel depots and ammunition dumps to the armored ground forces that are expelling thousands of Kosovar Albanians from their homeland.

If NATO and Yugoslavia ever negotiate a settlement over Kosovo, the allies are not likely to repeat a concession that General Norman Schwarzkopf made at the armistice meeting to end the Gulf War.

At that meeting, General Schwarzkopf agreed to a request by Iraq that it be allowed to fly armed helicopters anywhere inside Iraq as long as they were not near U.S. forces.

Iraq used that air power, which it claimed was necessary for self-defense, combined with heavy ground armor that survived the war, to kill thousands of rebellious Kurds and Shiites.

## Serbs Set Ceiling for Kosovo Albanian Population

By Steven Erlanger  
New York Times Service

BELGRADE — Serbian authorities in Kosovo say they are trying to remake the demographic balance of the province and sharply reduce Albanian power there, according to a senior European diplomat who was recently in the province.

Officials in Kosovo, where all governmental power has been wielded by Serbs since President Slobodan Milosevic stripped the province of broad autonomy in 1989, say they hope to have about 600,000 ethnic Albanians living there when the war is over, the diplomat said. That would be two-thirds the estimated number in Kosovo before the expulsions began. But the Serbian officials also seem to understand that they must do more "to help their image," the diplomat added, "now that they feel they have a roughly tolerable level of Albanians" and have swept the ethnic Albanian rebels of the Kosovo Liberation Army from most of their strongholds.

This kind of brutal population shift has been a feature of politics in the Balkans for much of the last century. Earlier wars this decade saw the Serbs purge eastern Bosnia of Muslims and Croatia drive out most of its Serbs. The diplomat said that Serbian authorities in Kosovo are encouraging thousands of hungry Albanians who are coming down from the forbidding mountains to which they had fled to return home to their empty villages.

Many of those Albanians are men of military age, the diplomat said. Western officials have noted the small numbers of such men among the refugees pushed out of Kosovo, raising questions about how many of them remain alive.

The diplomat and international aid workers saw about 20,000 Albanians, many of them men, moving along the

roads near Podujevo, near the provincial border with Serbia.

The Albanians said they had spent several weeks in the far reaches of the mountains, still snow-covered, as Serbian forces tried to clear rebels from Kosovo Liberation Army strongholds around Lapastic, west of Podujevo.

These Albanians showed signs of long exposure to hunger and cold, with extremely chapped lips and flaking skin. They said that they had had little food and that they no longer felt that the rebel army could protect them, the diplomat said.

"They said right now they just want security and peace," he said. They said their families needed both food and medicine.

Some of his observations matched those of foreign correspondents who were taken on a tour of Kosovo by the Yugoslav Army. Other aspects of the diplomat's account could not be independently confirmed because for-

eign correspondents are barred from traveling freely to Kosovo.

Zoran Andjelkovic, the Serbian top local official, has gone to speak to the refugees to urge them to return home, promising them safety, the diplomat said.

In general, the Serbs are presenting the situation in Kosovo as peaceful and claiming that their offensive there is now over. They say they are busy trying to negotiate a settlement for political autonomy for Kosovo and safety for returning refugees.

In recent days, Serbian state television has shown columns of ethnic Albanians inside Kosovo said to be returning home. Nearly every televised interview is with a young Albanian man of military age, as if to undermine Western allegations of mass killings and up to 40 mass graves.

"The atmosphere is entirely sinister and eerie," the diplomat said. "Serb authorities try to present the situation as relatively normal, but one

## Kosovo Battle Costs Lufthansa Millions

Agence France-Press

BONN — The NATO air strikes on Yugoslavia are costing the German airline Lufthansa more than \$5 million a day because the allies' use of its Frankfurt hub is causing severe flight delays and diversions, a report said.

The weekly German news magazine Der Spiegel said the head of Lufthansa, Juergen Weber, was "incensed" at the costs, which are running about 10 million Deutsche marks (\$3.45 million) per day.

"Frankfurt has become a military airport," the magazine quoted Mr. Weber as saying.

The problem lies in Frankfurt's dual use for civilian and military flights.

Dozens of U.S. tanker planes are taking off and landing from Frankfurt each day to refuel NATO warplanes in midair.

There was no possibility of their using other airports, as the U.S. Air Force base near Frankfurt is hooked up to the alliance's fuel pipeline, Der Spiegel said.

Worsening the congestion, one of Frankfurt's three runways is out of use because it is being refitted while another can be used for takeoffs but not landings, because of protests about noise.

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## EUROPE

## In Europe, Critics of Genetically Altered Crops Sow Seeds of Doubt and Fear

By Rick Weiss  
Washington Post Service

**BOGHALL FARM, Scotland** — They gathered at the edge of a field here late one night, about 20 people wearing dark clothes and gardening gloves. The gently rolling, half-acre test plot that stretched before them was lush with thousands of experimental canola plants, genetically altered by a German biotechnology company.

When lookouts in three cars all gave the go-ahead via mobile phones, the shadowy figures illuminated battery-powered miners' lamps atop their heads, crept from behind the hawthorn hedgerows and began ripping every gene-altered plant from the earth. Hours later, exhausted and surrounded by wilting, uprooted vegetation, the dirt-covered protesters sped back to nearby Edinburgh.

"We were nervous for the next week," one participant said recently, speaking to a visitor at the now barren site on the condition of anonymity. If the group members are caught and convicted, they could spend a decade or longer in prison.

The Boggall raid was one of many "decontaminations" of gene-altered farm sites by protesters during the past year, many of them resulting in arrests. In England, Scotland and Ireland, at least three trials for such raids have come up in the past month alone.

The actions are part of a wave of protest circling the globe as the first fields of genetically modified crops take root outside the United States. Gene-altered crops have been grown and consumed in America since 1996 with barely a murmur of debate, and the massive negative reaction in the British Isles and elsewhere

is highlighting differences in the way Americans and others perceive science and the environment.

The protests are also drawing attention to lingering scientific uncertainties about the risks of agricultural biotechnology.

The controversy is over crops that have been endowed with genes from bacteria and other organisms, mostly to make them resistant to insects and chemical weed killers. In Britain and other European countries, where such crops are still restricted to small experimental plots, polls indicate that two-thirds of consumers believe the plants pose a threat to the environment or to human health.

Recent public protests and a flurry of newspaper articles with headlines about "Frankenfoods" and "Mutant Crops" have put European government and industry officials on the defensive.

Last month, more than two dozen influential consumer organizations in Britain called for a five-year moratorium on commercial plantings of gene-altered crops there. Top chefs have called for segregation and labeling of engineered ingredients so they can keep the stuff out of their gourmet dishes.

The protests appear to be working. Last month, several major fast-food outlets and supermarket chains in England — including Burger King, McDonald's Corp. and J. Sainsbury PLC (the large grocery chain owned by the family of the British science minister, Lord Sainsbury) — promised to eliminate genetically modified foods and ingredients from their product lines.

Those moves are alarming farmers and distributors in the United States, the leading producer of gene-altered foods, where regulatory agencies have deemed

gene-modified crops "substantially equivalent" to traditional crops and where consumers — knowingly or not — consume large quantities of engineered food every day.

Last year, nearly 40 percent of the U.S. soybean crop was genetically engineered. And while many Americans may think they do not eat much soy, it is present in an estimated 60 percent of all processed foods, including breads, baby food, salad dressings and ice cream. Similarly, 45 percent of U.S. cotton — including that grown for cottonseed oil — was genetically modified last year, as was 25 percent of the nation's corn.

In the industry's view, these crops are at least as safe as traditionally bred crops.

"We're talking about tens of thousands of field trials and millions of people who have ingested these foods

safely," said Carl Feldbaum, president of the Biotechnology Industry Organization in Washington. "And before people ingested the foods, we're talking about agencies highly respected by American citizens — the FDA, the EPA, the Department of Agriculture — all signing off on the safety of these plants."

According to Mr. Feldbaum and other advocates, gene-modified crops are desperately needed if the world's growing population is to be fed in coming decades. Some experts have even suggested that engineered crops are the only way to achieve the environmental Holy Grail of "sustainable agriculture," because in theory, at least, they can reduce the need for chemical insecticides, herbicides and erosion-promoting tillage.

Moreover, scientists promise they will soon be adding genes that are not only useful to the farmer but also valuable to the consumer, such as genes that make foods tastier or more nutritious.

But even the best arguments by scientists and government agencies have not convinced Europeans.

Philip Angell, director of corporate communications for Monsanto Co., the giant St. Louis, Missouri-based company that is the major U.S. producer of gene-altered seeds, is one of many observers who say Europe's rejection of biotechnology is the result of a lack of public trust in food safety agencies there. In particular, he blames the still-simmering "mad cow" disease fiasco, in which British government officials insisted for years that there were no human health risks from the bovine disease — only to have that assurance disproved. "That wound still has not healed," Mr. Angell said.

A series of public relations missteps by Monsanto probably added to the problem, company officials concede. According to a preliminary ruling by Britain's official Advertising Standards Authority last month, a \$1.6 million Monsanto advertising campaign sought to deceive the public by expressing opinions as accepted fact and making scientific claims that were "wrong" and "misleading."

Another factor, said David Atkinson, vice principal for research at the Scottish Agricultural College in Edinburgh, is that Europeans are more attuned to the latest developments in the countryside than Americans are.

"Look," he said, pointing out the window of his second-story campus office. "Edinburgh is the fifth- or sixth-largest city in the United Kingdom, and we can look out the window and see countryside and see farming."

International politics, too, cannot be wholly discounted. Some U.S. lawmakers and corporate officials suspect that Europe's reluctance to embrace agricultural biotechnology is nothing more than thinly veiled protectionism, deserving of punishment by the World Trade Organization.

Many opponents of agricultural biotechnology say that all these explanations do contribute to their feelings. But most important, they argue, is that there is simply not enough known about the safety of these crops.

They cite studies indicating that plants engineered to make their own insecticides can accelerate the evolution of resistant insects and may ultimately render the few remaining organic insecticides ineffective.

Many ecologists are also concerned that the spread of new genes to weeds via windblown pollen could lead to the inadvertent creation of "superweeds" that do not die when sprayed with weed killers.

## BRIEFLY

## Don't Halt Talks, Sinn Fein Advises

**LONDON** — Sinn Fein said Sunday that a peace agreement for Northern Ireland would be shattered if the process were to be "parked" over the summer.

"Our view is, if you park the peace process, there will be no Good Friday agreement to come back to," Mitchell McLoughlin, chairman of the IRA's political wing, said on BBC television.

Ireland's deputy foreign minister, Liz O'Donnell, speaking on the same program, agreed that the process could not be halted. (Reuters)

## Spanish Rightists Fight With Basques

**BILBAO, Spain** — Riot police broke up a rally of several dozen Spanish far-rightists and a counter-demonstration by Basque separatists Sunday after violent clashes, the police said. It was not clear whether anyone had been hurt or arrested.

Scuffles broke out when a telephone booth was set on fire as dozens of supporters of the far-rightist Alliance for National Unity, headed by Ricardo Saez de Ynes-trillas, held a meeting in this Basque city.

The counterdemonstration was organized by Herri Batasuna, the political arm of the banned separatist organization ETA, and other Basque separatist groups. (AFP)

## For the Record

President Jacques Chirac of France has registered his highest approval rating since the 1995 election, with 63 percent of the French people pleased with his performance, according to a poll published in the weekly Journal du Dimanche. (Reuters)

Prince Charles of Britain spoke out against inner-city decay in an article Sunday in the weekly Observer; he argued that old warehouses, mills and workshops should not be demolished but converted to modern uses. (AFP)

## After 2d Bomb Jolts London, Britain Fears Racist Terror

By Tom Buerkle  
International Herald Tribune

**LONDON** — The British police stepped up security across London on Sunday, warning of a possible wave of racial attacks after a neo-Nazi group claimed responsibility for the second bombing in a week in one of the city's minority neighborhoods.

The bomb injured six people in the predominantly Bangladeshi market street of Brick Lane, just east of the City of London financial district.

It exploded late Saturday afternoon, one week after a nail bomb went off in a market in the racially mixed South London neighborhood of Brixton, injuring 39 people.

Just as in the Brixton bombing, a caller claimed responsibility for the attack in the name of Combat 18, an extreme right-wing group whose name is a code for "Adolf Hitler." The digit 1 represents "A" and 8 is for "H."

Counterterrorism experts from London's police forces held an emergency meeting Sunday amid concern that the two bombings could mark the start of a sustained campaign, according to David Veness, assistant commissioner of the London police.

Right-wing terrorism threats have increased in recent days and the police have been investigating reports of death threats against several black and minority politicians, including a local member of Parliament for the East London neighborhood where the latest bombing took place.

"We retain very serious fears that this will be a continuing deployment," Mr. Veness said.

The bombings have shaken Britain, where people had started to believe that the peace process in Northern Ireland would bring about an end to terrorist violence here.

The menace of neo-Nazi groups is usually associated in Britain with the United States or parts of Continental Europe.

Prime Minister Tony Blair, who was in Washington for the anniversary summit meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, condemned the attack as "outrageous." He said the government would "make every effort to find out who was responsible and bring them to justice."

Oona King, the local member of Parliament, asserted that the two bombings represented a backlash prompted by an investigation into the murder of a young black man, Stephen Lawrence.

The investigation report, released two months ago, accused the police of "institutional racism" for having failed to bring murder charges against five white youths suspected of killing the teenager because of his race.

The call claiming responsibility for the Brixton blast was made from a public telephone near the site of the Lawrence slaying.

"There obviously has been some increasing tension in the community as a result of the Lawrence report," Ms. King said.

She condemned the death threats, including a letter she received two days before the Brixton bombing from a group calling itself the White Wolves, threatening "extermination" of non-whites and Jews in Britain in the year 2000.

"Threatening extermination because of ethnicity is what Milosevic is doing now," Ms. King said, referring to President Slobodan Milosevic, the Yugoslav president directing a violent campaign to drive ethnic Albanians from Kosovo.

Police released little information about Combat 18 or the White Wolves except to say that their membership appeared to be "mercifully small."

The groups are believed to have broken away from the British National Party, the country's largest far-right political group.

Members of the party battled local residents in the Brick Lane area in 1993.

The Saturday bomb was left in a black bag on a side walk and might have caused more injuries but a man noticed it, placed it in the trunk of his car and was driving it to a police station when it exploded.

None of the six injuries were serious, but the bomb was "clearly designed to maim, kill, injure innocent people going about their lives," said Sir Paul Condon, the police commissioner. "We are determined to catch those responsible."



In a Bangladeshi area of London, a small car testifies to the power of a bomb that exploded Saturday.

## Ski-Lift Crash Compensation Delayed

By Matthew L. Wald  
New York Times Service

**WASHINGTON** — The relatives of the Germans killed when a U.S. jet struck a ski-lift cable in Italy were close to receiving compensation from the United States, until the issue of the crew killed in a U.S. Air Force C-141 Starlifter five months earlier delayed the action.

Twenty people on the cable car, including seven Germans, were killed when a low-flying Marine Corps jet hit the ski gondola's cable on Feb. 3, 1998. Last month the Senate voted in favor of an immediate payment of \$40 million, or \$2 million per victim.

Five months before the ski-lift accident, on Sept. 13, 1997, a U.S. Air Force Starlifter and a German Air Force plane collided 35,000 feet over the South Atlantic, off Namibia. On March 31, 1998, the German government said in a report that the German crew was at fault, because it was flying the Tupolev 154 eastward at an altitude reserved for west-bound traffic.

The crashes were both instant tragedies. In the Italian Alps, the crew of the plane, a Prowler EA-6B, saw the cables less than a second before impact. People in the car plunged about 360 feet to their deaths. In the midair collision, a crew member on the German plane saw the Starlifter at the last second. Everyone on those planes, nine Americans and 24 Germans, was killed.

The two accidents are linked now because in late March, Senator Charles Robb, Democrat of Virginia, attached an amendment to a catch-all spending bill to provide \$2 million for each victim of the accident in Italy.

Two days later Senator Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina, approached Mr. Robb with new language that would bar payment to the German families, but not the families from Belgium, Poland or Italy, until the German government settled the claims of the American families.

That suggestion is now part of the package that House and Senate negotiators are considering as they iron out their other differences.

Rita Wunderlich of Hartmannsdorf, Germany, whose husband was on the cable car, said, "We have been fighting for compensation for a year now, and now people are trying to use us to get paid."

Mr. Thurmond wrote to the German ambassador, Jurgen Chrobog, who responded in a letter, saying, "It goes without saying that the families of the victims of the crash off the coast of Namibia deserve our deepest sympathy and support."

But Mr. Chrobog added: "I do not think it is helpful to link compensation issues. Nor is it customary in light of the close cooperation of our two countries within the NATO alliance."

Besides, he pointed out, the victims of the accident in Italy were civilians.

But for Monica Cindrich, widow of the Starlifter's pilot, Captain Gregory Cindrich, that added insult to injury. Ms. Cindrich contends that there should be no distinction: "Take the word 'civilian' out, take the word 'military' out, and you know what? You still have 'victim.'"

## CHINA: 10,000 Cultists Mass in Beijing in the Largest, and Strangest, Protest in a Decade

Continued from Page 1

rest in the run-up to the 10th anniversary of the bloody crackdown on Tiananmen Square on June 4. Demonstrations have become commonplace in cities and villages through out China as a restive population — concerned about corruption and unemployment — appears increasingly willing to take to the streets to press their demands.

The protesters dispersed late Sunday night after organizers assured them that the cabinet would negotiate with them Monday.

The government had no comment on the protests, which went unreported by the official media, or on the protesters' claim that Prime Minister Zhu Rongji had been personally involved.

"This was an apolitical protest, but it also is a very political act," said a senior Chinese academic who has written extensively about China's growing number of cults.

"By moving 12,000 people into the center of Beijing, this group was making a very strong statement," he said. "By picking this time to move these people, so near to June 4, the statement had that much more power."

The Falun Gong protest also illustrates a completely new set of challenges facing the Communist Party, which traditionally has been bedeviled by Western-oriented pro-democracy groups.

Cults and religions, combining traditional Chinese beliefs with a dose of hucksterism, have proliferated in China among a restless people seeking a spiritual anchor amid economic and social upheaval.

How to control these groups has presented the party with a huge task, evidenced by the fact that without warning more than 10,000 people surrounded the red-walled party headquarters Sunday.

Indeed, Chinese security services have for the last six months carried out a crackdown against attempts to form China's first opposition party, a movement with less than 200 people involved. But tens of millions are believed to be practitioners of the Falun sect in China — a potential arsenal in times of trouble.

In addition, the protest Sunday was



Falun Gong cultists gathering at Communist Party headquarters in Beijing on Sunday to present their demands.

meticulously organized — another potential headache for the government. Throughout the day, as protesters squatted in orderly rows, ate popsicles and nibbled on fruit, others came around to collect wrappers and apple cores to prevent littering.

Furthermore, the protest in Beijing was not an isolated incident but rather a continuation of demonstrations that began last week in the coastal metropolis of Tianjin, 145 kilometers (90 miles) east of China's capital.

There, thousands of Falun followers protested in front of the offices of the Youth Science and Technology Reader and the city government, demanding that the monthly's editors apologize for the article. The magazine refused the demand.

When the protesters attempted to surround Tianjin's city hall, police dispersed them, employing what one source called "rough tactics." No one was seriously injured, he added, but dozens of

people were arrested and the group decided to take its protest to Beijing.

Protesters said Sunday that they received calls Saturday from local leaders and some arrived in the center of the city as early as 4:30 A.M. Others came from as far away as Zhejiang Province, 1,300 kilometers south of Beijing.

Falun Gong, or the law of the revolving wheel, says it is "an advanced system of cultivation and practice" — incorporating elements from the Chinese martial art, tai chi chuan, Buddhism and Taoism. It is kind of a New Age movement with Chinese characteristics.

By cultivating an "orb" of energy around the belly, the theory goes, disease can be cured and spiritual rapture achieved. One can also learn how to send one's soul flying outside the body.

Mr. Li first began preaching Falun Gong in China in 1992. His sect quickly became popular.

Mr. Li moved to the United States, and he gave his first sermon in Houston on

Oct. 12, 1996. Since then he has generally picked celestially significant days for his teachings — often to crowds of thousands. Mr. Li's writings have been translated into seven languages, and Falun organizations are active around the world and in 18 U.S. states and Washington. More than 80 Web sites are devoted to the practice of Falun.

She Qingsheng, 26, a doctor from Beijing who was at the protest Sunday, said Falun is a good way to address the problems in Chinese society and the world, from drugs to the war in Yugoslavia. He said that China's ultra-radical Cultural Revolution destroyed traditional Chinese values, creating a moral vacuum in this country.

People need something to believe in, he said, "like Christianity in your country" although he stressed that he did not believe Falun was a religion. "Why did so many people come today?" he asked. "It's a problem of the social system, and a problem of recognition."

## BRIEFLY

## U.S. Planes Bomb Northern Iraqi Sites

**ANKARA** — U.S. fighter jets based in southern Turkey bombed Iraqi air defenses in the northern no-flight zone Sunday after being tracked by Iraqi radar, a statement from Incirlik Air Base said.

"Operation Northern Watch detected Iraqi radar posing a threat to coalition aircraft," the statement said.

It said F-16s had responded in self-defense, launching bombs and missiles at anti-aircraft sites near the Iraqi city of Mosul.

All the aircraft left the no-flight zone safely, it added. (Reuters)

## Bolivia Doesn't See New Ties With Chile

**LA PAZ** — Citing Chilean military exercises on the border, President Hugo Banzer of Bolivia said he doubted diplomatic relations with Chile would be restored this year.

"I don't think that conditions are there" to re-establish diplomatic relations, the president said Saturday in Cochabamba, about 200 kilometers (125 miles) southeast of La Paz.

Chile and Bolivia share a 980-kilometer border where the Chilean army has recently been conducting missile tests, according to Bolivia's Defense Ministry. Diplomatic relations between the two have been suspended since 1978. (AFP)

## For the Record

Clashes erupted between Iraqi protesters and security forces in a suburb of Baghdad recently, leaving dozens of people dead, the newspaper Al Hayat reported Sunday. (AFP)



## EDITORIALS/OPINION

## Herald Tribune

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## Russia Out of Step

Just about every European nation has its representative at Washington's mega-summit this past weekend. NATO and non-NATO members alike. Conspicuously absent, though, were the Russians. That was unfortunate for NATO and the Clinton administration, which have worked hard, and rightly so, to make a place for Russia in the new Europe. It was even more unfortunate for Russia itself, which now finds itself more isolated than ever, and more exposed in its weakness.

The proximate cause for Russia's boycott is NATO's war in Kosovo. The bombing campaign has aroused strong emotions in Russia, all negative. Some Russians say it proves right the fears they harbored from the start that NATO is an aggressive, not a defensive, alliance. There is sympathy for the Serbs, who share a version of Russia's Orthodox religion. Among policymakers, who waged their own brutal war against ethnic separatists in Chechnya, the anxiety is that the Kosovo example could be used to fracture Russia. And there is resentment that NATO launched this campaign without authorization from the UN Security Council—that is to say, without the approval of Russia and China.

Opposition to NATO's action is not, in and of itself, dishonorable. Plenty of Americans and Europeans share the view that an air campaign was not the optimal way for NATO to achieve its goals. But Russia in two ways has diminished its stature and its standing to make this argument.

First, it has failed to put forward any true alternative. Throughout the past year, Russia claimed to share the goals of autonomy for Kosovo, an end to ethnic violence and a withdrawal of most Serbian troops. But when

Slobodan Milosevic violated his own commitments to those goals, commitments that the Security Council had enshrined, Russia offered no suggestions on how to enforce agreements that it had backed or to protect the civilians of Kosovo.

More serious has been Russia's refusal to condemn or even acknowledge the massive crimes against humanity for which Mr. Milosevic is responsible. It is fine to argue against NATO bombing, if that is your view, and to call attention to the civilian casualties that such bombing is bound to produce. It is not fine to pretend, as Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov did early on, that the mass exodus from Kosovo is caused entirely by NATO's bombing. It is not fine to claim, as Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov did, that the forced expulsions are purely a matter of Western propaganda. It will not be forgotten that so many Russian politicians could not bring themselves to condemn the mass rapes and murders.

Now President Boris Yeltsin has appointed as Kosovo negotiator his former prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin. This may be as much a slap at his current prime minister, Mr. Primakov, as a genuine attempt to make peace, but NATO is right to encourage Mr. Chernomyrdin's efforts. Russia's government also has sidestepped calls from the Communist and nationalist opposition to take extreme measures, such as sending arms to Yugoslavia.

If Russia can be brought back into the process without compromise to NATO's principles, so much the better. But its involvement can be meaningful only to the extent that it acknowledges the reality and consequences of Mr. Milosevic's crimes.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Against School Violence

There is of course no certain antidote to the kind of violence that claimed 15 lives at Columbine High School in Colorado last week, no simple way to predict its occurrence, no magic cure for the pathologies that make it possible. President Bill Clinton himself confessed to a feeling of mystification when he visited a Virginia high school last Thursday to share his grief.

He promised to search for answers, as we Americans all must. The Columbine massacre followed a half-dozen incidents of deadly school violence since late 1997, and while it would distort reality to say that the country is in the grip of an epidemic, people are clearly on edge, especially since violence has a way of copying violence.

The fact that there is no perfect solution cannot be used as a cover for doing nothing. The country is far from powerless. There are useful steps that can be taken by governments, school officials, teachers, parents and even the students themselves. Here are a few.

**School security.** Americans rightly resist regimentation, but schools must be weapon-free zones, and if that requires extra security, so be it. In the 1996-97 school year, more than 6,000 students were expelled for bringing guns to school. About 5 percent of the nation's schools use walk-through metal detectors, and 10 percent use hand-held devices. Federal and state officials should look hard at the experience at these schools. If the considerable investment in equipment and the personnel to run it seems to pay off, a dramatic expansion in the use of metal detectors, beyond the relatively modest growth envisioned by the Clinton administration, would be in order.

In addition, Mr. Clinton said on Friday that a federal program begun last year would underwrite 2,000 new police officers in schools that ask for them. Congress should weigh an expansion of that program.

**Early intervention.** What little is known of the twisted motives of the two troubled, suicidal killers raises profound cultural and psychological questions, the answers to which lie not in Washington or the state legislatures but in the schools and among parents, students and community leaders.

Last June, after a similar shooting at a high school in Springfield, Oregon, Mr. Clinton directed the departments of education and justice to develop an "early warning guide" to help adults reach out to troubled children quickly and effectively. The guide, written in intimidating bureaucratic and probably gathering dust on many school

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Comment

## Too Many Guns Around

In 1996, the last year for which comparative statistics are available, there were 15 handgun-caused deaths in Japan, 30 in Britain, 106 in Canada and 9,390 in the United States.

In 1996, 4,643 children and teenagers were killed in America with guns; 2,866 murdered, 1,309 by suicide, 468 in unintentional shootings.

"We should teach kids how to resolve conflicts," says Stephen Teret, a professor at Johns Hopkins University and director of its Center for Gun Policy and Research. But there are 52 million schoolchildren in America, and a conflict resolution program that is 99.9 percent successful will leave 52,000 kids ready to commit mayhem. "For them, you want to make sure there's not an operable gun within reach."

—Fred Hiatt, commenting in The Washington Post.

## Let's Take Asian Fear of Globalization Seriously

By Dru C. Gladney and Christopher B. Johnstone

HONOLULU—As the effects of the economic crisis continue to ripple through Asia, a central issue has moved to the forefront of debate: the impact of globalization on Asian societies.

While countries once termed "miracles" struggle to recover from a crisis that in some cases destroyed years of progress in just weeks, mainstream Asian thinkers from India to Japan are pointing to globalization—meaning open borders for flows of finance, business, trade, ideas and cultural values—as a threat to national well-being.

The outcome of this debate will have implications for Asian and Western governments alike. Before the crisis, many Asian governments enthusiastically welcomed the forces of globalization. Indeed, globalization helped to give legitimacy to a number of regimes, as market liberalization and broader integration into the global economy spurred rapid growth across Asia.

Rising living standards made people willing to tolerate governments that were often authoritarian, a phenomenon sometimes described as "performance-based" legitimacy. In South

Korea, Indonesia and China, growing prosperity and political repression went hand in hand.

In essence, Asia saw itself as a "winner" in the new global contest. Behind the Asian embrace of globalization was the assumption that the economies could be separated from politics.

The economic crisis has thrown such assumptions into doubt. Asia is now deeply aware of the costs of being a globalization "loser." With millions of people thrown out of work, governments are forced to provide more resources to compensate the victims of global economic and financial forces.

Perhaps more ominous for some Asian governments is that the strategy of separating economics from politics may no longer be viable. Events in Indonesia, Thailand and South Korea make clear that embracing globalization entails political, social and even cultural costs. Transparency, accountability and the rule of law are required by the global economy. These features of globalization are far less welcome in many parts of Asia.

Confronted with such pressures, some Asian leaders have turned to denouncing globalization as a new form of Western imperialism. Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad of Malaysia has accused the West of using financial markets to bring Asia to its knees. Similar sentiment has been voiced by some officials and intellectuals in China, Indonesia, India and Japan.

For now, no Asian countries appear likely to reverse course and reject globalization. Few Asians perceive the North Korean and Burmese models as viable alternatives to the global economy. Some governments, including those of South Korea, Thailand, Singapore and the Philippines, have even welcomed the opportunity for reform.

But a lasting backlash could develop against the West, especially if the current signs of recovery in East Asia fail to live up to their promise. Such a backlash could have serious implications for American influence in the region, and harm Asian interests as well.

The West must abandon triumphalist rhetoric, and recognize that Asian

concern over eroding values and social cohesion is legitimate. The possibility of internal fragmentation is real in the multiethnic states that characterize much of Asia.

Asia, in turn, should recognize that Western countries have also been buffeted by globalization, and that managing its challenges will be a central item on the policy agendas of Washington, London, Paris and Bonn long into the 21st century.

The challenge for the West and Asia is to agree that although the window to a globalization should be kept open, a screen should be kept firmly in place. With goodwill on both sides, this should be possible.

No nation is immune to the effects of globalization, but all have sought to reap its benefits, even as they work to protect national resources, values and identities considered vital.

Mr. Gladney is a dean at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu, and Mr. Johnstone is a research fellow at the center. They contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

## The Kosovo Test for Successors to the NATO Founders

By David Ignatius

WASHINGTON—At foreign policy gatherings, they were known as the "successor generation"—the bright young men and women who would someday succeed to leadership of the Western alliance.

They were encouraged to think of themselves as heirs to such people as Dean Acheson and George Marshall, the founding generation that had fought World War II and created the great postwar institutions.

It was like waiting to come into an inheritance, the big, fat trust fund known as NATO. That looked to be easy work, living off the interest without having to put much back in—at least until a few months ago.

This past weekend's 50th anniversary celebration marked a rite of passage. "The Greatest Generation," as Tom Brokaw calls the founders, finally handed off the baton to the sons and daughters who came of age in the turbulent, make-believe world of the late 1960s and early '70s.

To an unusual degree, President Bill Clinton and his advisers are products of a deliberate effort to shape this successor generation. They are a team of "meritocrats," people who were recruited and validated for leadership by America's top universities, foundations and think tanks.

In 1994, a year after Mr. Clinton took office, I counted at least 15 Rhodes scholars in the administration, six of them on the White House staff. They had gone off to Oxford to acquire the tools of managing an empire—at least that had been the intention of the founder, Cecil Rhodes, although that mattered less to the recipients than the fact that they were collecting the best merit badge of all.

Like many aspiring "successors," many of the Clintonites were members of the Council on Foreign Relations. In 1994 I counted eight members of the cabinet, including the president, who were members of this inner circle of the Es-

tablishment. This year, despite many changes in the cabinet, the council's quota is still eight.

The Clinton meritocrats had been schooled for leadership but not tested. There was a suspicion in the land that they might not be up to the job. Their résumés were long on credentials but short on experience.

Whatever youthful flings the Clintonites might have had with anti-war politics or cultural rebellion, most of them had quickly retreated to the safety of big institutions and powerful patrons. The most successful member of the Clinton cabinet was the one who had been schooled in risk, working on the arbitrage desk at Goldman Sachs—Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin.

The foreign policy team was weaker. Now the test has come. You can tell from the hags

under his eyes that Mr. Clinton is finally learning what the burden of leadership is about. He understands that in Kosovo he is writing the decisive chapter of his presidency, and also one for his generation. So far, it does not make for happy reading.

The president and his team initially proved as unready as their donors feared. In a hideous irony of history, they found themselves re-treading the path of gradual escalation that was part of the disaster of Vietnam. With the best of intentions but ruinously poor planning and strategy, they embarked on a war without fully understanding its potential costs and consequences.

Perhaps we Americans really do understand now how we got into Vietnam. We see a president edging hesitantly into a conflict that seems morally justified but

remote from the nation's interests; we see generals and intelligence advisers offering conflicting advice—saluting the president's face but groaning behind his back; we see columnists denouncing any presidential hesitation about shedding blood as moral cowardice. And we see the inescapable logic of what many ordinary people took to be the lesson of Vietnam: If you're in it, win it.

But maybe this is a good time to take Vietnam off the table (like the Holocaust, it is a unique event, not a metaphor) and recall the personalities of 50 years ago.

What distinguished the founder generation was planning for the peace even as you were fighting a war. They began that planning process in 1943, and we are still living off the institutions they created.

How do we foster economic and political stability in the

Balkans, rather than the mess we have now? How do we draw the Russians into helping us manage a stable, democratic Balkans, making them partners in peace rather than zealots for postwar Serbian revanchism? How do we help Serbs create a modern nation worthy of their patriotism? To ask questions like these is not to undermine the war effort but to give it more depth and staying power.

Resolve and clarity. Those were the gifts that made the NATO founding generation so admirable. You cannot learn those qualities at great universities. You learn them through the bitter, heartbreaking experiences of real life.

It doesn't get any more real than the war in Kosovo, and in the next few weeks and months the successor generation will have a chance to earn its inheritance.

—The Washington Post.

## Patient Firmness Is a Better Policy Than Bombing

By John Kenneth Galbraith

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts—Fifty-four years ago this month, I became the director for overall effects of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey. After some months of work with a talented staff, the interrogation of Albert Speer and other German officials and the examination of excellent German records, we concluded that the great strategic air attacks had not appreciably reduced German war production.

Nor had they effectively shortened the war. That was won by ground troops with tactical air support up from Normandy and across the vast plains of Russia.

This finding was strongly assailed by friends of the Army Air Force, as it then was, but in the end was mostly accepted.

It was also learned, not surprisingly, that the ordinary citizens of the German cities—Cologne, Hamburg, Berlin and, just as the war was ending,

Dresden—were far more in fear of the American and British bombers than of their own highly adverse government.

In Japan, a similar study found the country's industrial plants to be more vulnerable, but it was civilians—men, women and children—who suffered, including at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The war was won by ground troops fighting island by island up from Guadalcanal, and by sea power, including, of course, carriers and combat aircraft.

A few years later in Korea the situation was the same. That war was brought to an end by troops on the ground. Airpower did not save General Douglas MacArthur's forces on his venture to the Yalu River. Twice the weight of bombs dropped on Germany did not affect the outcome of the war in Vietnam. It took ground troops to recover Kuwait.

And now the allies are relying on aircraft in Serbia and Kosovo. In keeping with the history, it is possible that this aerial assault has strengthened Slobodan Milosevic. For the ordinary Serbian citizen there is less to fear from him than from NATO bombers.

And one can at least wonder whether many of the refugees from Kosovo left because of the threat from the air.

The commitment to airpower has two sources. There is, first, the hope, real but rarely enunciated, that we can have war without casualties—a clean, hygienic operation, away from the arms, shells, physical miseries, wounds and death of ground warfare. And which avoids the domestic political effect from the body bags being unloaded.

More important, technical achievement, public expenditure and industrial influence all urge the use of airpower. All

that is lacking is military effectiveness and tolerance from the enemy civilians who are being bombed.

What then should be America's concern and that of the NATO alliance on Serbia, including Kosovo? I do not urge ground operations. These would only provoke the adverse public and political reaction that has made airpower so popular. And I do not wish to consign the young to injury and death, and certainly not when there is a better solution.

The better solution is patience. We should suspend the bombing, isolate Serbia economically and use our ample resources and organizational skills to make the life of the refugees as secure, even pleasant, as possible. And we should give strong financial support to Albania and Macedonia to help with the huge burden imposed on them.

Let us open the United States yet further to refugees. That has been our greatest past service to the deprived and despairing of the world, and all to our own ultimate benefit.

Time is the greatest of all cures. If the NATO allies stop the bombing and are open to negotiation, eventually reason will rule. There will be negotiations, some kind of settlement. War, on the contrary, does not heal, and its effect on participants and those unhappily present is all too evident.

The writer, a professor emeritus of economics at Harvard and author most recently of "The Good Society," contributed this comment to The New York Times.

## A Balkan Cold Shower on Alliance Activism

By William Pfaff

PARIS—NATO's conception of a new and expanded mission was put into action in Yugoslavia a month before its scheduled discussion at the alliance's anniversary gathering this past weekend in Washington. The experience has greatly dampened enthusiasm for NATO activism.

"Out-of-area" missions to keep world order now appear in a different light than when the idea was launched by the Rand Corporation.

Washington authorities tried to reanimate their guests' spirits in the days before the NATO anniversary observance by proposing still another NATO mission, this time peaceful, to "rebuild" the Balkans—"so that we never get into this mess again," as a European diplomat was quoted as saying.

But minds have been on the human catastrophe in the Balkans, and on the question of ground intervention to prevent Slobodan Milosevic from winning his war. Rebuilding the Balkans has to wait.

In any case the example offered, Bosnia's reconstruction, was unfortunate. The international effort in Bosnia has rested upon a wholly artificial political structure that now is doomed. Even if NATO wins the war with Serbia, the rump Republika Srpska's "federation" with the Muslims and Croats of Bosnia will not endure. It may not even last to the end of the war.

The experience of the last few weeks has demonstrated the danger and difficulty of the role of international order-keeper, and has undermined

NATO's claim to be able to play that role well.

The alliance has thus far proved unable to wage the kind of war that Mr. Milosevic's Yugoslavia is waging. NATO's kind of war, in the air, is capable of annihilating Serbia, but NATO is maladapted to a non-apocalyptic mode of warfare.

Until now, NATO was automatically assumed omnipotent, and membership in the alliance was assumed to confer all but total security. Now the new members gathered in Washington found they had assumed responsibilities which, particularly for Hungary, could prove dangerous. They have acquired an unexpected enemy, Serbia, and Russia's hostility as well.

The main issues of controversy over a new NATO strategic concept have been:

- The appropriateness and legitimacy of interventions outside the NATO region.

- The advisability of changing the character of the NATO mission to address proliferation of mass destruction weapons, terrorism, the drug trade and organized crime.

- The legitimacy of NATO actions taken without United Nations authorization.

- European-American relations within the alliance, meaning creation of an autonomous European "pillar" and a change in the command structure in Europe's favor.

missions enlarged, but the European members are divided on all of those questions.

There is also, in European public opinion, and in most government circles as well, resentment of American "hegemony" and pressures.

In Washington there is open criticism of allied "freeloading" and low defense budgets. The Yugoslav war will increase European military spending, whatever the outcome.

The other side of European criticism of Washington is a painful recognition of how weak Europe is, how dependent on America to solve its problems, how vulnerable to being drawn into unwanted difficulties.

Another lesson taken in Europe is the unwieldiness of alliance action. This applies directly to the European ambition to establish a security and foreign policy "identity."

Nineteen NATO nations have had to approve every step in the Yugoslav war. Every nation has had the right (which France has sometimes exercised, to Washington's great annoyance) to veto bombing targets, escalations of the war, and an oil embargo on Serbia. This has undermined the virtues of a "coalition of the willing" in conducting foreign and strategic policy. That is the only way the European Union will have such a policy—if it ever does.

NATO's extension and redirection have been seen in Washington as part of a desirable if not inevitable political "globalization," counterpart to the economic globalization of the past

few years, in both cases U.S.-inspired and American-led.

The new strategic concept is not a plan with much support outside the United States today, and in the United States it perhaps has less support now than before the bombing began.

Foreign affairs are back in the U.S. campaign debate in a big way. Who is elected the new American president, a year from November, may be decided in Kosovo.

International Herald Tribune, Los Angeles Times Syndicate.

## IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

## 1899: Factory Woe

PHILADELPHIA—An explosion occurred at Fler's chewing gum factory, in which it is supposed 400 girls were employed at the time, a number of which were killed and many injured. The building was completely wrecked. All the hospital ambulances in the city were brought into requisition for carrying away the dead and injured.

## 1924: Bubbly Craze

PARIS—With the exception of the United States, the world is drinking so much French champagne that consumption has now reached pre-war figures. Before the war, the French only consumed 25 per cent of the output and the rest was exported, while to-day the consumption in France reaches 65 per cent, and only 35 per cent is exported. The increase is explained by the increasing number of American

visitors, who are dry at home and who here drink more than they used to do. On the other hand, French people, fearing the increased cost of living, have bought up large stocks for future consumption.

## 1949: West Germany

FRANKFURT—The long controversy over the constitution for a west German State ended with agreement on the formation of a western "federal republic of Germany." Points of difference among the American, British, and French Military Governors and German political leaders ended in agreement. "We have reconciled all differences between the occupation powers and the Germans, and the Germans have reconciled all differences among themselves." General Clay told a press conference. "In the interest of the German people and of Europe's political future, we have agreed."

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## HEALTH/SCIENCE

## Why Are We Here?

### The Great Debate

By Carey Goldberg  
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — What if Jerry Springer decided to do one of his talk shows pitting one particle physicist who believed in God against another who did not? And if he asked them to hash out, before a live audience, whether the universe is the product of divine design?

The result might be something like the refreshingly rousing debate between the Nobel Prize laureate Steven Weinberg and the knighted physicist-turned-theologian John Polkinghorne that invigorated hundreds of people here at a conference meant to bring science and religion closer together, and highlighted the current twists on an age-old dispute.

"I was almost waiting for it to deteriorate into a physical fight," said Janice Herndon, a Georgetown University student who attended the conference with her science and religion class. "I think it was pretty much a draw."

It was a little livelier than the making nice-between scientists and religionists that has typified the recent rash of such conferences, courses and panels.

Propelled by intriguing advances in cosmology and by millions of dollars from the Templeton Foundation, efforts to build a "constructive dialogue" between science and religion have proliferated of late, attacking big "Why are we here?" questions and conveying a sense that it has never seemed more like 3 A.M. in the dorm room of America. The encounters are sometimes awkward mixes that touch on such topics as the possible overlap between physicists' assertions that the universe's laws seem fine-tuned to allow human existence and theologians' ideas about a caring creator.

Bah, humbug, said Mr. Weinberg. He does not even believe, he said, that there should be a "constructive dialogue" between science and religion at all, because that "could help to give religion a kind of legitimacy it shouldn't have." And as for the Templeton money and the mounting science-and-religion trend, "I deplore it," he said, and predicted that it would peter out.

But that did not keep him from happily taking on his old Cantabrigian friend, Mr. Polkinghorne, in a debate ranging from quantum mechanics to morality.

The match — held in the same Smithsonian Museum of Natural History auditorium as a famous 1920 debate on the size of the universe between Harlow Shapley and Heber Curtis — became something of a centerpiece for the three-day "Cosmic Questions" conference put on by the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Templeton Foundation. Its agenda was to explore three jumbo questions: Was there a beginning? Is the universe designed? And are we alone?

Besides the Polkinghorne-Weinberg



Weinberg, left, and Polkinghorne in their "constructive dialogue."

debate, cosmologists generally discussed their findings and unanswered questions about the early universe in purely scientific terms, while theologians referred largely to text and God, and there was a powerful sense that never the twain shall meet.

But Mr. Polkinghorne and Mr. Weinberg actually engaged. And though Mr. Weinberg asserted that most scientists he knew did not even think enough about religion to call themselves atheists, their statements did illuminate how recent cosmological findings influence the choice between belief and unbelief, for those who do bother to think about it.

These days, as Mr. Polkinghorne put it, given the state of knowledge about the seemingly fine-tuned laws of the universe, "there are two broad categories of possible explanations: Either there are many universes, and ours is one by chance, or there is a single universe that is the way it is" because a creator wanted it that way.

**B**OTH those ideas, he emphasized, are metaphysical in character. On that, Mr. Weinberg agreed, noting that the "anthropic" reasoning that focuses on the human-size universe "may be mystical mumbo jumbo or it may be just common sense."

"These are open questions," he said. "Are the constants of nature remarkably well-adjusted for the existence of life?"

"We just don't know enough yet about fundamental physics to answer that," he said. Mr. Polkinghorne allowed that he did not think it could be proved that God existed, or that God did not exist, for that matter.

So the two were left to argue pretty much on the basis of taste.

"With or without religion," Mr. Weinberg said, "you would have good people doing good things and evil people doing evil things. But for good people to do evil things, that takes religion." Mr. Polkinghorne countered that religious revelation and transformation had also led evil people to do good things.

In general, he argued, science by itself cannot answer a metaphysical question like whether the universe is designed,

just as physics cannot "explain" music by describing it as vibrations. Some things, he said, cannot be condensed "into a formula that can be written on a T-shirt," and there could be no simple answers for questions as deep as why science is possible at all — that is, why the universe is intelligible — and why the universe seems so special. But in general, he said, "I do believe religious belief can explain more than unbelief can do."

Belief in God, he said, can explain not only the existence of the universe, and its intelligibility, but also the widespread phenomenon of religious experience and the dawning of consciousness in humans, which he sees as a "signal of meaningfulness." Beauty and morality, too, "find a natural anchorage" in God as a starting point, he said.

And as for the eternal question of why there is evil in a world created by a benevolent God, "science has been moderately helpful to theology" on that count, Mr. Polkinghorne said, by coming up with a theory of evolution that allowed theologians to argue that "God created a world that could make itself," and was no direct puppeteer.

Mr. Weinberg critiqued theological theory as being "infinitely flexible," while physics at least had logical rigidity. So that as observational data and physicists' thinking advances, it will — perhaps soon — become clear whether there really are a vast number of universes, he said, and that will not be a matter of personal taste, and "won't be an act of faith," but "will be a deduction from laws which unfortunately, at the present, we do not know."

Mr. Weinberg even allowed that he was going out on a limb by positing a Godless universe, given that the facts on which he based his opinion could change. "Suddenly in this auditorium, a flaming sword may come down" and strike him dead, he said, "and then we'll know the answer."

Heaven forbid, Mr. Polkinghorne responded. That would be a terrible theological problem for him, he said, because he does not believe in the kind of God who would do that. "It would be not only a theological problem, but a journalistic problem," Mr. Weinberg added.

## BOOKS

### WOMAN

#### An Intimate Geography

By Natalie Angier. 398 pages. \$25. Houghton Mifflin.

Reviewed by Marilyn Yalom

**N**ATALIE ANGIER'S dazzling new book calls upon biology and evolution to celebrate the female body. Its upbeat message — that women are far stronger, more sexual, aggressive and adaptive than usually given credit for — is supported by rigorous scientific underpinnings. In laying out her argument, she takes on those currently fashionable evolutionary psychologists who present women as fundamentally less interested in the joys of sex and worldly achievement than men and therefore programmed for monogamous unions with older, higher-status males.

Tain't so, says Angier, a Pulitzer Prize-winning science writer for The New York Times. Look again. What you'll see through her eyes will startle and amaze you.

To begin with, there are the sex chromosomes: two X chromosomes for women,

and one X and one Y for men.

In the view of Angier's father (a major presence in her psychic life), chromosomes prove the case for male superiority: X and Y equal diversity and genius, while X and X are "chromosomal bores." Yet as Angier takes pleasure in noting, the X chromosome is six times larger than the Y and has a "vastly higher gene richness."

Then there is the egg, the largest cell in the body and the only spherical one, "a geometric dream" likened to a pearl that lasts for decades and is hard to crush. It is "the true sun, the light of life." Such flights into poetic rapture are one of the book's stylistic strengths, along with the first-person anecdotes that add a wryly humorous note.

Moving from the microscopic to bigger body parts, "Woman: An Intimate Geography" dramatizes female anatomy and physiology. A chapter on the evolution of the clitoris reminds us that Freud had it all wrong: His theory that clitoral orgasm is "infantile" and vaginal orgasm "mature" should be seen as "a blot on history's under-

standing of female sexuality."

Instead, Angier writes, the clitoris has no greater end than to serve women's pleasure, and that is end enough. Unlike its drudge male homologue, the penis, on duty for both urination and ejaculation, the clitoris is a specialized organ capable of repeated stimulation and multiple orgasm.

Given these facts, we are asked to ponder why men's sexual satisfaction is more aggrieved than women's. And we are asked to consider the reasons that clitoridectomy is still practiced on some 2 million women each year, mainly in Africa. Here Angier does not mince words: "Genital cutting is an extreme abuse of human rights. Like slavery and apartheid, it is unacceptable."

And one must not forget that other quintessentially female body part, the uterus. Here, too, the reader of "Woman" encounters a bracing mix of fallacy, science and politics.

More to the point today is the question of ownership. Pro- and anti-abortion spokesmen claim the right to determine what may or may

not take place in the uterus.

Does the uterus belong to the woman who houses one, or, in the case of pregnant women, does it belong to the fetus, or the fetus's representatives in the form of church and state? Or to doctors who, Angier says, overindulge the urge to cut by performing more Caesarean sections and hysterectomies than are warranted? This self-proclaimed "feminist, pro-woman" writer takes pains to suggest that each woman should be the mistress of her own corporal house.

Angier never hides her political agenda. Nor does she hide the insights derived personally from her experiences as a daughter, wife and mother. Her own small daughter has made her exquisitely sensitive to kinship with "the tribe of woman," starting with their similar bodies.

Marilyn Yalom, author of "A History of the Breast," wrote this for The New York Times.

## BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

**T**RYING to count the number of bridge players in the world is an impossible task, although there have been many wildly over-optimistic guesses. The first step is easy: Add the membership figures of the national bridge organizations and you get 681,000. The second step, far more difficult, is to count those who play in clubs but do not belong to national organizations. The third step, about as easy as enumerating undetected murders, is to count those who play socially in their homes.

A weekly foursome in Manhattan consists of Richard Berg, Richard Gelles, Karen McEwan and Don Swadlow. They had trouble

with the diagrammed deal and concluded in the post-mortem that there was no makable game. But were they right?

In practice the bidding followed the course shown up to three clubs, but South feared a total misfit and eventually permitted his partner to play in three no-trump. That proved a

disaster after a diamond lead. North won, led the spade king and took a heart finesse. The result was down three.

With six-six distribution South should certainly have persevered with his suits, reaching four spades as shown after North gives a preference at the four level. And since the spades split conveniently, the contract can be made.

A trump lead is as good as anything for the defense. South wins in dummy, ruffs a club and takes three diamond winners. He then ruffs another club, cashes the spade ace and leads a third round. East wins, leaving the position shown at left.

Whatever East returns, South can arrange to score the heart queen to make his game. He can win a heart shift and

lead a low heart, or he can ruff another return, cash the heart ace and then lead a low heart.

**NORTH**  
♠ A  
♥ K  
♦ A K Q  
♣ 9 8 7 6 4 3 2  
**WEST (D)**  
♠ 7 5 3  
♥ K J 10 8 5  
♦ 9 8 2  
♣ 10 5  
**EAST**  
♠ Q J 8  
♥ 7 8  
♦ J 10 7 6 5 3  
♣ A K Q

**SOUTH**  
♠ A 10 9 6 4 2  
♥ A Q 7 6 3 2  
♦ 9 4  
♣ —

Both sides were vulnerable. The bidding:  
West: 1♣ 1♦ 1♥ 1♠  
Pass 2♣ 2♦ 2♥ 2♠  
Pass 3♣ 3♦ 3♥ 3♠  
Pass 4NT Pass 4♣  
Pass 4♣ Pass 4♣  
Pass 4♣ Pass 4♣  
West led the spade three.

## Eating for a Healthy Heart

Plenty of Choice in the Search for the Protection of Good Food

By Jane E. Brody  
New York Times Service

**N**EW YORK — Is your cholesterol level a little too high? Have you been told to de-fat your diet or take costly medicines to bring it down?

A strict anti-fat diet is too much for most people, and many healthy people would rather not take cholesterol-lowering medications (all have some side effects) if there are safe, effective and more pleasant options. Studies have highlighted a wide variety of foods and beverages that offer the promise of a healthier heart, often with other protective benefits as well. In fact, if weight is not a problem, you may not have to eat low-fat at all, as long as the fats you eat are the right kinds of fats.

Saturated fats must be kept to a minimum. They are found in significant amounts in chicken fat (30 percent saturated), vegetable shortening (31 percent), lard (40 percent), beef fat (50 percent) and butter (62 percent).

But a report published in November by the Journal Postgraduate Medicine said that reducing total dietary fat appeared to be less effective in lowering coronary risk than simply replacing saturated fat with unsaturated fat and consuming less trans fats, which act in the body like saturated fat and are formed when unsaturated vegetable oils are partially hydrogenated.

Data from the continuing Nurses' Health Study showed that every 5 percent increase in saturated fat in the diet resulted in a 17 percent increase in the risk of cardiovascular disease.

Heart-healthy fats include those found in fish, olives, avocados, seeds and nuts. For cooking and salad dressings, you can choose among olive, canola, sesame seed, peanut and walnut oils. But be sure to use them with discretion. Even heart-healthy oils are high in calories, about 120 calories a tablespoon, and if you gain weight, your cholesterol level and coronary risk will rise.

You've no doubt heard about any number of foods and drinks purported to be good for the heart: fish, soy, whole grains, various fruits and vegetables, garlic, alcohol and particularly red wine. Here's the current scoop:

• Just one fish meal a week may cut in half a man's risk of sudden cardiac death. The Physicians' Health Study found that men who ate fish — for example, sardines, canned tuna, salmon, sardines, mackerel, herring, bluefish or swordfish — at least once a week reduced their risk of sudden death by 52 percent when compared with men who ate fish less than once a month. Fish appears to protect against fatal abnormal heart rhythms and the oils reduce the risk of arterial clogging.

• Eating soy protein daily can lower the blood level of heart-damaging LDL cholesterol and raise protective HDL cholesterol. But a lot of soy protein is needed to achieve a significant improvement — between 25 and 50 grams a day. One ounce of powdered soy protein contains 23 grams, for example, while 4 ounces of tempeh has 17 grams.

• A continuing study of more than 34,000 postmenopausal women in Iowa has shown that eating one or more

servings of whole-grain foods (in place of refined grains) a day can reduce the risk of death from heart disease by a third. Such foods include cereals like Wheaties, Cheerios and Shredded Wheat, brown rice, oatmeal, corn, bran, wheat germ, and breads in which the first ingredient listed is whole wheat.

• The same Iowa study also highlighted dietary calcium, either from foods or from supplements, as a heart-protective, probably because it helps lower blood pressure. Most helpful was a diet that contained more than 1,400 milligrams of calcium a day, about the amount in a quart of skim milk or yogurt or calcium-fortified orange juice. A dietary supplement, Chinese red-yeast rice, sold as Cholestol, contains the same cholesterol-lowering compounds found in the statin drugs.

Two B vitamins — folate and B-6 — may reduce the risk of fatal heart attacks by lowering blood levels of a substance called homocysteine, which, like high cholesterol, damages coronary arteries.

• Tea, with or without caffeine, is beneficial to the heart. Regular black tea is a rich source of flavonoids, the protective anti-oxidants in soybeans that are believed to retard the development of atherosclerosis. In a study of nearly 700 men and women in Boston, those who drank one or more cups of regular (not herbal) tea a day had nearly half the risk of suffering a heart attack of those who drank no tea. And moderate consumption of alcohol, one drink a day, has been linked in numerous studies to a reduced risk of heart disease, a benefit that apparently results from an alcohol-induced rise in protective HDL cholesterol.

## Grist for Planetary Comparisons

By John Noble Wilford  
New York Times Service

**N**EW YORK — A major discovery announced two weeks ago has given birth to a new field of science, the comparative study of planetary systems. At last, after centuries of speculation, often more fanciful than scientific, and recent years of expectant searching, astronomers have found a family of planets to compare the solar system with. They detected three large planets — two of them with masses much greater than Jupiter's — orbiting another solar-type star, Upsilon Andromedae, 44 light-years away.

Scientists confidently predict that this will be the first of many similar discoveries. Geoffrey Marcy of San Francisco State University, leader of one of the discovery teams, has his eye on another star, 55 Cancri, where there is mounting evidence of multiple planetary companions. Observers are tracking other nearby stars for planetary systems but are cautiously refraining from making any claims.

They are further encouraged by other discoveries over the last four years. Examining the telltale motions of almost 20 other stars, astronomers have inferred the presence of at least one Jupiter-class planet close to each of them, exerting slight gravitational disturbances. Smaller or more distant planets may also accompany these stars, but their detection would require more prolonged observations and may be beyond current technology.

If there were astronomers with comparable technology in the Upsilon Andromedae system, they would be unable to detect any of the sun's planets, not even mighty Jupiter, because they lack sufficient mass or are too distant from the sun. So it is possible, scientists said, that observers have yet to take the full measure and census of the Upsilon Andromedae system or others nearby in the Milky Way galaxy.

Spacecraft being planned for flight in the next couple of decades are expected to find many planetary systems, including any Earth-size objects that might harbor some forms of life. The Terrestrial Planet Finder, a mission planned by 2010, should be able to detect and photograph the full retinue of

planets around other stars. Its instruments will also be designed to determine the constituents of atmospheres.

About 10 years later, a spacecraft called Life Finder, which is being planned by the Jet Propulsion Laboratory in Pasadena, California, would carry remote-sensing instruments for a more detailed study of planet atmospheres. The presence of methane and ozone together, for example, would be a sure sign of some kind of life on the planet.

Theoretical astrophysicists have already seen enough, though, to suspect that the sun and its family may not be a typical planetary system. They have been surprised to find so many examples, at Upsilon Andromedae and also among the solitary planet detections around other stars, of Jupiter-class objects existing much closer to their stars than Jupiter is to the sun. And none of the current theories predicted what they discovered at Upsilon Andromedae: that three such giant worlds could form and survive around a single star.

"True giant planets are not that easy to form," said Douglas Lin, a theorist at the University of California at Santa Cruz. "Finding three around one star, and extremely close to it, is quite significant and puts more constraints, limits, on any theory of planetary formation and evolution."

Alan Boss, a theoretical planetary scientist at the Carnegie Institution of Washington, noted that 10 times more mass is locked up in the three Upsilon Andromedae giants than in all the planets of the solar system. The innermost of these has a mass three-quarters that of Jupiter, and the middle one a mass at least twice Jupiter's. The outermost, at more than four times Jupiter's mass, is not much farther from its star than Mars is from the sun.

"I'm worried that our conventional ways of explaining giant planets is inadequate," Mr. Boss said.

About the only thing that has not astonished astronomers is the discovery itself of another planetary system. As early as the classical Greeks, philosophers have contemplated the possibility of other worlds. In the 17th century, writers began entertaining ideas about "a plenitude of worlds." In recent decades, scientists had said the laws of probability favored the existence of other planetary systems.

## LANGUAGE

## NATO Entangled in Its Own SWAG

By William Safire  
New York Times Service

**W**ASHINGTON — "The numbers came in high." The administration official told John Harris of The Washington Post, about an estimate of NATO troops needed to protect Kosovo. "No one said yes, no one said no; it was taken off the table. ... It was a complete eye-roller."

This is an example of an unfamiliar word that is immediately understood. To "roll one's eyes" upward is to visibly express astonishment, dismay or disbelief. An eye-roller is the compound noun that describes a situation or remark that causes such a reaction.

The useful word apparently has a Pentagon origin or association. On Dec. 1, 1987, Edwin M. Yoder Jr. reported in The Washington Post that at a breakfast meeting Caspar Weinberger, the former defense secretary, was "cheerfully rattling on, and some of his listeners are rolling their eyes upward in an unmistakable 'oh, brother' expression."

Yoder described Weinberger's claim that record defense budgets had nothing to do with high deficits in the Reagan era as "the big eye-roller."

The defense jargon spilled over, as it often does, into sports: "The Bills' winning score in the fourth quarter," wrote Nick Cafardo in The Boston Globe in 1996, "was a head-shaker and an eye-roller." One synonym is *stunner*, connoting "a revelation that leaves one thunderstruck or dumbfounded." Another is *mind-boggler*, from something that "boggles the mind" (originally "frighten," from the 16th-century *bog* is dialect root in *goblin*, but now denoting a high degree of amazement rather than fear). But these synonyms do not carry the connotation of skepticism in *eye-roller*. "Lord, save us from this baloney."

Harris went on to write: "NATO's analysis, officials said, was not a comprehensive study. Instead, it was an initial review that some officials called

a 'SWAG' — military parlance for a 'scientific wild-ass guess.'"

The Chicago Tribune reported in 1984 that Colonel John Stewart, testifying in a libel suit brought against CBS by General William Westmoreland, recalled admitting to his commander years before that an estimate of enemy strength was based on "the SWAG principle," and that the courtroom erupted in laughter at the explanation of the acronym. The U.S. Army's home page lists the acronym merely as *swag*, defining it as "a gross estimate or guess."

This is in error when not printed in all capitals, *swag* is an old slang term for "money, booty." Only when printed all lowercase does SWAG become an acronym for "scientific wild-ass guess."

Other army phrases defined on its home page include *ankle biter*, "people who criticize one's position but offer no constructive alternatives"; *readahead*, "material sent to officials to prepare them for upcoming visits"; *shotgun coordination*, "sending duplicate packages to several offices simultaneously to save time"; and *wrapped around the axle*, "lacking progress because of immersion in details or inability to see the big picture."

Presumably concerned about the third word in SWAG, the Web page warns readers to "avoid using these terms in official correspondence, at formal briefings, when dealing with outsiders."

At ease, the attributive noun phrase *wild ass* is not a vulgarism. The juxtaposition of words (as adjective and noun) can be found five times in the King James version of the Bible, most famously reflecting well on donkeys in Job 24:5: "Behold, as wild asses in the desert, go they forth to their work."

□

When competing theories come to the same result, the simplest is preferred.

That cutting of complication is encapsulated in the metaphor of *Ockham's razor*, from the parsimonious words of the 13th century's William of Ockham,

described here some months ago in this simple sentence: "The old Franciscan friar (probably bearded; shaving gear was hard to come by in the abbey) was figuratively cutting out details."

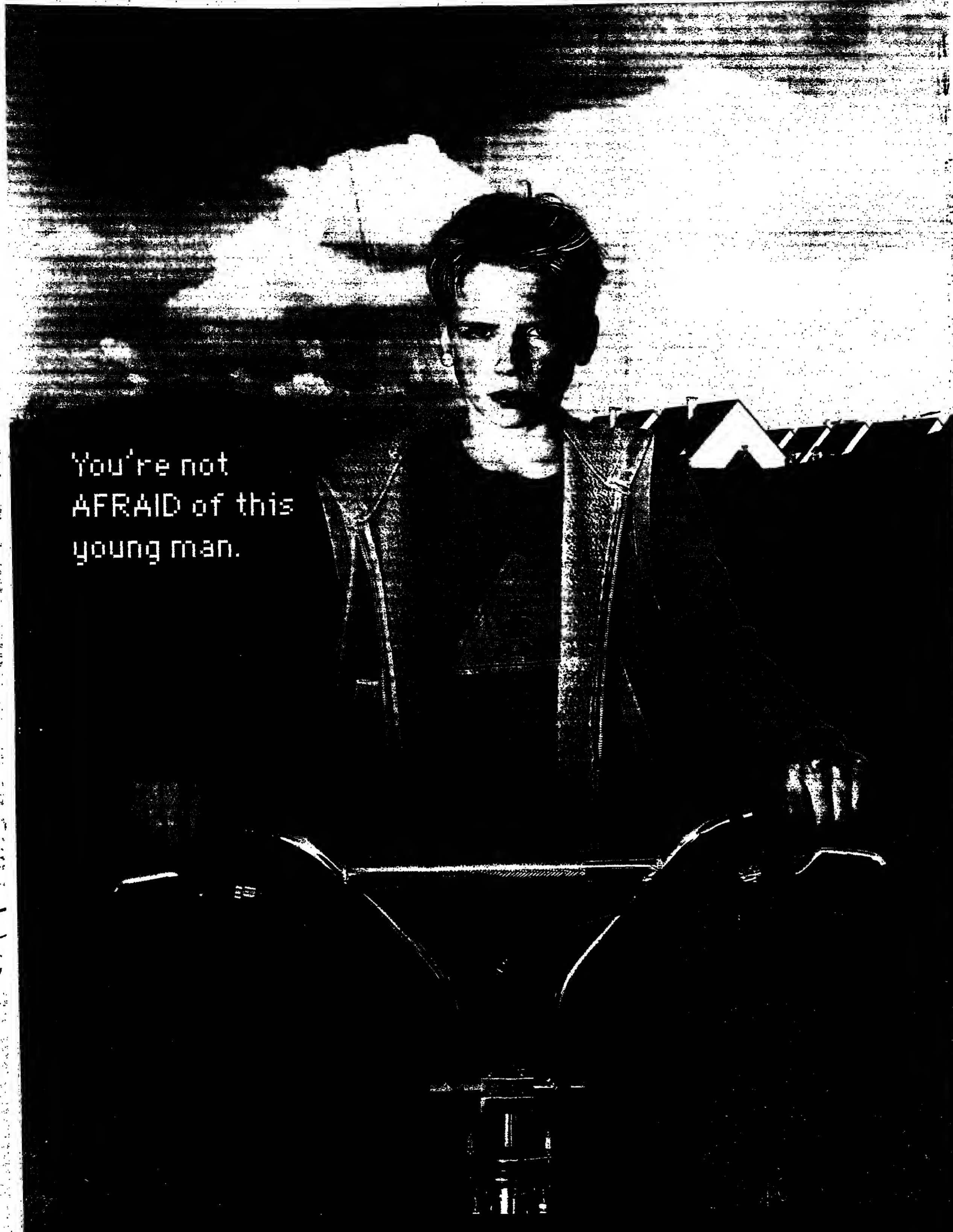
Your reference to a *frar* in the abbey was a non sequitur," writes the Reverend Thomas Paprocki, chancellor of the Archdiocese of Chicago, "unless the Franciscan's barber happened to be a Benedictine monk."

He explicates: "Franciscan friars usually live in a *fratry*, defined as a monastery or place where friars live. An abbey is a monastery headed by an abbot or a nunery headed by an abbess. The Benedictines are probably the best-known example of monks and nuns governed by abbots and abbesses, respectively. Franciscans, however, are not governed by an abbot. St. Francis of Assisi preferred the term *guardian*."

And this just in from the Conventual Franciscan Center in Toronto: "Monks are members of monastic Orders," writes Friar Phil Kelly, "those who live in larger communities and follow some sort of monastic rule. Benedictines, Cistercians (as in Thomas Merton) or Carthusians are such groups. *Friars* are members of the four mendicant orders founded in the Middle Ages somewhat as a reaction to monasticism. They are the Augustinians, the Carmelites, the Dominicans and the Franciscans."

Although even I know that a *novice* lives in a *novitiate*, who lives in a *priory*? (All Cartesians live a *priori*.) "Some houses of friars, such as the Dominicans and Servites, are headed by a *prior*," notes Paprocki, "and some nuns, like the Discalced Carmelites, are governed by a *prioress*, all of whom are said to live in a *priory*."

As Ockham would put it: Monks and nuns usually live in *abbeys* and *fratres* in *fratres*, though some are in *priorities*. "Your explanation of Ockham's principle was better than what we received in the seminary," notes Kelly in the spirit of charity, "but whining is part of my nature."



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## LOOKING FOR A VACATION ADVENTURE

If lying on the beach doesn't provide a thrill, try rock climbing — or even building a house.

A vacation should ideally always be an adventure, which Webster's dictionary defines as "an exciting or remarkable experience." Those who are really seeking to stretch themselves, rather than stretching themselves out on a beach, might want to sample one of the following programs, all of which offer physical challenges and/or the opportunity to make a difference to someone else in the world.

One way to reach thrilling heights is to scramble up the face of a cliff, hanging on for dear life with fingers and toes. The Joshua Tree Rock Climbing School in the Joshua Tree National Park in southern California offers courses for everyone from rock-bottom beginners to those who want to lead climbing groups. Says Mark Bowling, director of the school, "The guides are skilled rock climbers and instructors, and they make safety their prime concern." The park has more than 4,000 climbing sites for every level of skill.

Youngsters between the ages of 13 and 15 who are looking for a taste of adventure can join Adventure Pursuits' Teen Wilderness program. On the 18-day Rawhide, Rocks & Rapids trip, for example, they camp out in the Colorado wilderness and learn the skills involved in alpine backpacking, rock climbing and rappelling, horseback riding and white-water rafting.

Into the jungle The islands, jungles and mountains of Indonesia offer myriad possibilities for adventure, and Adventure Indonesia takes visitors to a good number of them. Experienced guides lead visitors on climbs of the Carstensz Pyramid, the highest peak in Australasia, or trekking in the rain forests of Sumatra's Mount Kerinci, the highest volcano in Southeast Asia, populated with elephants, sun bears and tigers. On Borneo, adventurers can spot orangutans and black orchids in the Tanjung Puting National Park. Other possibilities include visits to the forest tribes of Ujungkulon National Park, where the endangered Javan rhinoceros lives, or a trip from Java to Bali, during which participants visit the Borobudur Temple and learn about Indonesian history.

Immersion Travel's motto is, "Go beyond ordinary travel." This organization stresses informed travel, adventure and sustainable tourism (minimizing the negative impact on indigenous people and their environment). Trips to villages involve interaction with the people by helping them to get food or prepare meals, for example, or attend-

ing local festivals or rituals. Interested travelers can take part in 20-minute language courses given each morning to enable them to communicate on a basic level with the local people. A percentage of the company's profits is donated to organizations in the communities visited.

One of Immersion's trips, Journey into the Mist, takes a small group to Irian Jaya in New Guinea. Visitors spend time in villages, joining in traditional dances, pig feasts and ceremonies in the Baiten Valley, an area that was unknown to the rest of the world until 1938, and learn about customs such as headhunting, ritual warfare and ancestor worship. A special millennium trip to New Guinea, limited to 10 people, is also planned. Other destinations offered by Immersion are Nepal, Turkey, Bali, Mexico, Thailand and Sulawesi.

Providing shelter Travelers who want to combine adventure with a humanitarian and educational experience might want to look into Habitat for Humanity, which defines itself as "a nonprofit ecumenical Christian housing ministry dedicated to eliminating substandard housing and homelessness worldwide and to making adequate, affordable shelter a matter of conscience and action." Since it was founded in 1976, the organization has built some 70,000 houses around the world, providing shelter for more than 350,000 people. Its efforts received helpful publicity when former U.S. President Jimmy Carter was pictured in newspapers hammering away at a house being built by Habitat for Humanity. The Jimmy Carter World Project 1999 is building houses in six locations in the Philippines.

The houses are constructed by volunteers who work alongside the future homeowners with donated money and materials. They are subsequently sold to the families at no profit and financed with interest-free loans. The monthly mortgage payments go into a fund that is used to build more houses. Habitat for Humanity currently has over 1,300 affiliates in the United States and 250 international affiliates coordinating around 800 building projects for families in some 59 countries around the world.

Another of Habitat for Hu-

manity's programs this year is Global Village: Fiji. Located north of New Zealand, this group of tropical islands is a popular tourist destination, but nearly 70 percent of the population relies on subsistence agriculture. Habitat for Humanity has built 175 houses on the main island, Viti Levu, since 1992.

## Good turns

Several two-week trips are scheduled this year, and each participant pays around \$2,100, including airfare from Los Angeles, accommo-

dations, food, in-country transportation and a \$350 donation to Habitat for Humanity. One local woman who has a oew Habitat house, Sarojini Chand, noted that in her oew home she no longer had to worry about her children falling through the kitchen floor, as she had in her former home.

As Robyn Painter, a young volunteer who won a Habitat for Humanity trip to Vac, Hungary, puts it, "From the outset, my experience with the Habitat project was an amazing adventure."

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## COOK YOUR WAY AROUND THE WORLD

A great way to get to know a culture from the inside is by learning the art of its cuisine.

Having the time to cook is a luxury these days, and taking the time to learn to cook properly is even more of a luxury. A vacation provides the perfect opportunity to perfect your jambalaya, macrobiotic rice, *boeuf bourguignon* or *tom kar gai*.

Many foreigners think that "American cuisine" is an oxymoron. As far as they are concerned, cooking in the United States is limited to hot dogs and hamburgers. But they are overlooking the South, where a number of influences have combined to create a unique homegrown cuisine. The city of New Orleans has developed perhaps the most distinctive local style of cooking. The Cookin' Cajun Cooking School grew out of a little family-run praline shop on Jackson Square in the French Quarter that branched out into the production of Creole foods. Today, the school, located in Riverview Marketplace, teaches visitors how to make gumbo, jambalaya, shrimp Creole, chicken andouille, praline parfait, bread pudding with amaretto sauce and other Creole and Cajun delicacies. The school's literature explains that "most Creole dishes reflect the sophistication of Louisiana's cities and their lively social styles. Cajun dishes are Creole's country cousins, developed by the descendants of French-speaking Acadians who were banished from Nova Scotia in the 1700s."

French cooking is still considered by most people to be the ne plus ultra of haute cuisine, but many rate Thai food right up there near the top. The Sompet Thai Cookery School, located in Chiangmai, Thailand, provides each student with his or her own wok, burner, and mortar and pestle, essential tools of the trade. The necessary herbs and spices come straight from the riverside school's own garden, and meals prepared by the students are eaten on the veranda Thai-style, at low tables with cushions for seats. In each of the courses, students learn to make seven dishes, sauces, one curry paste and one dessert. Some of the delicacies on the menu include *tom kar gai* (chicken and coconut milk soup), *gai hao bai toy* (chicken in pandanus leaf) and *som tam malagor* (papaya salad). Those who insist on sticking with classic French cooking have several choices. One of them, the Ecole de Cuisine du Domaine d'Espérance, is located in Gascoy, known as Armagnac country. The school is housed in an 18th-century manor in the countryside, surrounded by its own vineyards (white wine is made there), and is run by the Comtesse de Montesquieu-Fezensac. Courses last for one week and include visits to the local market and wine cellars. Students stay in the renovated manor house. The May 31-June 5 session concentrates on buffets and summer dishes.

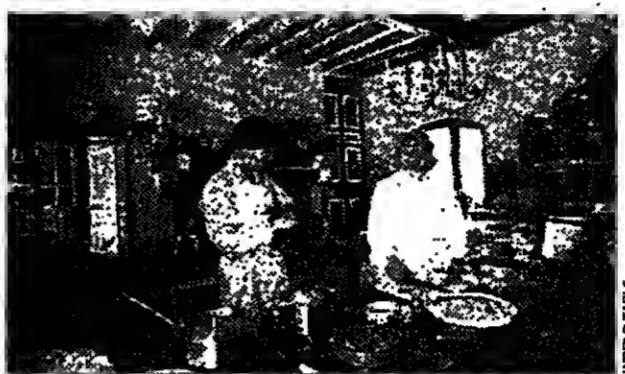
Another option for French cooking classes is the Ecole des Trois Puits, located in an 18th-century chateau in Burgundy, one of France's finest wine-producing regions. The school also offers French-language courses. Participants can take both to make the most out of their stay. Students in the cooking course shop at the local markets in the morning, cook in the afternoon and sample the results in the evening. Workshops on wine and the cheeses of France are also offered.

Another world-class cuisine comes from Italy. Tuscan cooking is a specialty unto itself, capable of transporting the gourmet into new realms of culinary delight. The basics can be picked up at Toscana Saporita, housed in a 15th-century villa,

where students also stay in suites equipped with their own kitchens. The recipes concentrate on seasonal foods, which in the summer means fresh tomatoes and basil; white eggplant; yellow, red and purple peppers; apricots; peaches; and melons. In the fall, it's mushrooms, chestnuts, truffles, freshly ground corn (for polenta) and just-pressed olive oil.

The director of the school, Anne Bianchi, is herself a native of Tuscany, and says that "students feel like family."

oo the wine and olive estate. "My mother might come to dinner," she explains, "and our suppliers are all local people, like the farmer who brings us fresh sheep's milk." *Buon appetito!*



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Tel.: (33 5) 58 44 85 93

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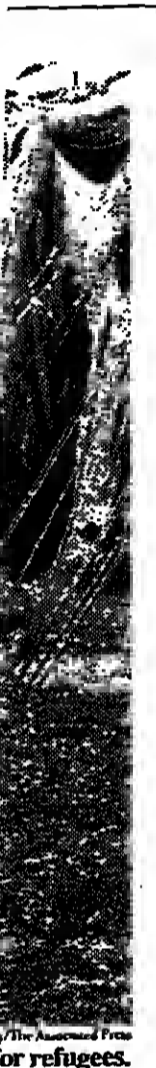
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Consolidated prices for oil shares traded during week ended Friday, April 27

during week ended Friday, April 23

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**Continued on Page 19**

# Chaebol Power Reform Gen

## Writing.

**CLUB**

MONDAY, APRIL 26, 1999

PAGE 15

## Are Chaebol Promises Of Reform Genuine?

Firms' Responses to Seoul Raise Doubts

By Don Kirk  
International Herald Tribune

SEOUL — For the leaders of South Korea's biggest conglomerates, who are accustomed to bragging about the number of companies and the size of the assets in their sprawling empires, less nowadays is more.

"The focus is on selective core business," said Lee Chong Suk, senior executive vice president of LG Group, the fourth-largest conglomerate, or chaebol, at a briefing for foreign business people in Seoul. "Our goal is to integrate our resources."

Choi Eun Jong, vice president for restructuring of SK Group, the fifth-largest chaebol, agreed. "We have to change the system to maximize the efficiency of our group," he said. "We will focus on business which has proved core-competitive."

Chaebol leaders are vying to convince foreign investors that they are not just paying lip service to President Kim Dae Jung's demand for serious downsizing and restructuring. They are actually doing something, they say.

How much, though, are the chaebol really changing? And how much are they just talking about it to appease a government with which they have often appeared to be in conflict over the past year?

"There's a lot of smoke and mirrors," said Hank Morris, a longtime financial consultant in Seoul, after listening to executives from the top five chaebol present their programs at a recent briefing sponsored by the Federation of Korean Industries, a kind of clob of chaebol executives.

Chaebol leaders got a dose of reality two weeks ago when the government issued a harsh warning that it would pressure state-owned banks to cut off the flow of credit to chaebol that refused to reform.

Faced with the end to an era of virtually unlimited financing for their expansion plans, the chaebol now seek to convey a single message gleaned from South Korea's economic crisis: The only way to survive is to jettison prized but superfluous assets.

Small wonder, then, that an appearance of strict compliance with the gov-

ernment's desires now dominates the pronouncements of chaebol executives — a year and a half after the government was forced to appeal to the International Monetary Fund for a rescue package to stave off bankruptcy.

The change is most apparent in the stated goals of Kim Woo Choon, founder and chairman of the Daewoo Group, the third-largest of the top five chaebol and probably the most reckless when it came to bold ventures backed by little guarantee of success.

Mr. Kim has put some of his most successful companies on the block in cut the group's debts of 59 trillion won (\$49.52 billion) by half. If all goes according to plan and Daewoo sells some of its entities, such as the shipbuilding unit of Daewoo Heavy Industries Ltd. and the Seoul Hilton Hotel, the group will pare its 34 companies to eight, all dominated by Daewoo Motor Co.

Daewoo, like all the other chaebol, says that it will cut its debt-to-equity ratio to less than 2 to 1 by the end of the year; the current level is around 3.5 to 1.

"For Daewoo to agree to such a drastic measure, they have to have had government pressure," said a foreign securities analyst, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "In Daewoo's case, the government has more leverage than the other five, just because they have so much debt."

The country's largest chaebol, Hyundai Group, has come up with its own sweeping plan, also under intense government pressure.

It announced Friday that by 2003 there would be no Hyundai Group at all. Rather, mighty Hyundai, which now has nearly 80 companies, would be divided into five groups, each of them under the aegis of one of the sons of the founder, Chung Ju Yung.

This is at least the third time in the past five years that Hyundai has announced restructuring plans. But instead of shrinking, the group has expanded its holdings in motor vehicles, electronics and energy by swallowing entities of hard-pressed rivals.

The result is that Hyundai, like Daewoo, now is wrestling with debts that have ballooned over the past year and a

See CHAEBOL, Page 17



A protester hurling a firebomb Sunday onto a blazing barricade in Seoul.

## Korea Fights Strike Wave

Riot Police Storm Campus as Unrest Spreads

Agence France-Press

SEOUL — South Korean riot police, backed by helicopters, stormed a university campus Sunday to disperse striking workers, amid growing concern about a wave of work stoppages.

The two-hour raid on Seoul National University followed a stern government warning against the weeklong wave of strikes that started Monday when subway workers walked out in protest against layoffs.

The subway strike has spread to 19 other state-run corporations and research institutes and grown to involve more than 20,000 workers.

The raid started after nightfall, when 2,000 riot police using a water cannon and a forklift smashed down barricades at the gates, sparking clashes with radical students and labor activists.

The protesters brandished steel pipes and set barricades of chairs and office furniture ablaze with dozens of firebombs. But they were immediately overpowered by the police and retreated into school buildings where some 2,500 striking workers and radical students have been holed up.

Simultaneous clashes erupted in eastern Seoul when police stopped hundreds of Korea Telecom workers from entering the Korea University campus, witnesses said. Scores of radical students dashed out of the campus and hurled a volley of firebombs.

Some 2,000 activists from Korea Telecom, a giant state-run telecommunications network, rallied earlier, vowing to go on strike starting Monday.

It was not clear how many protesters were injured or arrested Sunday.

The union's tough challenge prompted the government to warn that the wave of strikes, if unchecked, would cause away foreign investors.

The governing coalition, however, vowed to push ahead with its economic reform efforts and urged union leaders to stop fanning unrest.

"We will not succumb to the union's demands," an official statement said. "The government's restructuring drive must not be interrupted to help the country's economic recovery."

But the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions said it was ready to expand strikes including work stoppages Tuesday at Daewoo Motor Co. and four other major industrial plants.

## Telekom Is Optimistic

German Firm Sees Approval for Italia Deal

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

The planned merger of Deutsche Telekom AG and Telecom Italia SpA should have little trouble winning European regulatory approval and will create the first truly European telecommunications operator, the chief executive of Deutsche Telekom said over the weekend.

In an interview published Sunday in the newspaper Welt am Sonntag, Ron Sommer also attempted to allay Italian fears that the German government would dominate the merged entity, reiterating Bonn's promises not to meddle in management issues.

On Thursday, the former German and Italian monopolies announced the merger that would create a telecommunications giant with a combined market value of around \$170 billion and more than 100 million customers worldwide.

The plan has yet to win final approval from shareholders, governments and European and U.S. antitrust authorities.

Analysts have said that one of the biggest challenges for the companies will be winning approval from the European competition commissioner, Karel van Miert.

Asked on what conditions he expected antitrust authorities to agree to the deal, Mr. Sommer said "We don't count on big problems with the European Commission, but all the conditions have yet to be discussed at the negotiating table."

Treasury Minister Carlo Ciampi of Italy said Saturday that he would discuss the merger with Finance Minister Hans Eichel of Germany this week. Both men will be attending the annual meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Washington.

Mr. Ciampi said the event would provide him with three days in which to hold "a lot of meetings" with Mr. Eichel on the merger. He declined to comment further.

The Italian government sent signals of increasing concern over the weekend about the merger, with the finance minister, Vincenzo Visco, reiterating that it was neither "acceptable nor conceivable" that Telecom Italia be bought by a state-owned German firm, the newspaper Il Sole 24 Ore reported Saturday.

Two other senior political figures, Enrico Micheli, minister for public works, and Salvatore Cardinale, telecommunications minister, also expressed reservations, the paper reported.

The Italian government is concerned that the merger will leave state-controlled Deutsche Telekom as the dominant part-

ner and has demanded that the German government sell its 72 percent stake.

Rome still owns more than 3 percent of the common stock of Telecom Italia and a "golden share" that gives it the right of veto in certain circumstances. The golden share and the powers it confers are now the subject of an investigation by the European Commission, which is responsible for enforcing competition rules in the 15-nation European Union. (Reuters, Bloomberg)

## BT and AT&T To Invest in Japan Telecom

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — British Telecommunications PLC and AT&T Corp. said Sunday they had agreed to buy a combined 30 percent stake in the long-distance carrier Japan Telecom Co. for a total of \$1.8 billion.

Under the deal, first reported last week, BT and AT&T will each buy a 15 percent stake in the Japanese company through a new share issue, according to a joint statement released in Tokyo by the three companies.

Japan Telecom will absorb the two Western companies' Japanese affiliates, and BT and AT&T will each have a seat on the Japan Telecom board as part of their move to integrate the three companies' data businesses. BT also will become the core member of Japan Telecom's next-generation mobile-phone venture, owned jointly with AirTouch Communications Inc.

The deal is the first large investment by major foreign companies in Japan's deregulating telecommunications sector. It will give the two Western companies a significant foothold in the Japanese telecommunications market, the world's second-largest.

BT said the investment in Japan Telecom would not be its last in Asia.

Japan Telecom provides leased-line and long-distance services through fiber-optic networks running along railway lines owned by its major shareholder, Japan Railway Co. (AFP, Reuters)

## CYBERSCAPE

### After Shooting, 'Outcast' Youths Vent

By Amy Harmon  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The electronic message was titled "A post from an 'outcast,'" and its author, "Swimmer K," sounded a theme that echoed through cyberspace as young people reflected this week on the killings in Littleton, Colorado.

"I know how they feel," she confessed, writing to an invisible audience. "Parents need to realize that a kid is not overreacting all the time they say that no one accepts them. Also, all of the popular conformists need to learn to accept everyone else. Why do they shun everyone who is different?"

A reply from 14-year-old "Mandyjac" came the next day. "I can't even begin to say all the problems with cliques," she wrote. "I am seen as an 'outcast' and 'dork' by all of the popular people just because of how I act."

Mandyjac, a high school student in Gaithersburg, Maryland, added: "It hurts so much to be seen as 'different,' but I have learned to get over it and move on. I think that if we had no cliques, or at least others weren't looked down on as much, there would not be a problem."

In classrooms and around the dinner table, American teenagers' reactions to the latest school killings may have been dominated by fear for their own safety and horror at the violence that ended the lives of young people like themselves.

But the Internet offers a glimpse at a more painful chord struck by the Colorado killings. In on-line discussions, on World Wide Web sites and in e-

mail, young people are engaging in a dialogue over social ostracism and the unifying hierarchies of adolescent life, familiar but rarely discussed.

Almost all of the electronic empathizers were quick to repudiate the killings. But many wrote of identifying with the harassment that the two killers, Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold, appear to have been subjected to before they acted. At a time when it might be easiest to simply dismiss the two as freaks, several young people seemed to see pieces of their own experience reflected in that of the boys.

"They started out mostly saying, 'This is so horrible,'" said Laura

**'I think that what they did to all of those kids was wrong, but a person can only take so much torture.'**

Smith Kay, the on-line editor of Teen People, whose message boards on America Online carried 300 responses the first day after the shootings. "But now they're talking more about cliques and the treatment of outcasts and jocks, and how that interaction can create a really unhappy and potentially dangerous atmosphere."

But no matter who is typing into the ether, the nature of the on-line dialogue, which provides a sense of anonymity and safety, also provokes the airing of feelings not so easily expressed face to face.

In the process, some teenagers say they find the sense of acceptance on-line that they cannot find elsewhere.

"A lot of the experts on television have been talking about the problem in Colorado being a breakdown in community," said Robin Sifton, an adoles-

cent psychologist at New York Presbyterian Hospital who has been monitoring Teen People's message boards on America Online. "I see kids coming to these bulletin boards and forming community. It's especially helpful for kids who perhaps have less access to a means of expressing themselves because they have fewer friends."

On-line observations of what it means to be an outcast are cropping up throughout the Internet, from the current events forum on theglobe.com, a youth-oriented Web discussion venue, to alt.music.pearl-jam, where an anonymous contributor wrote:

"HAD TO SAY — I go to school every day and am violated of my rights because I choose to be 'different,' and even though I would never take someone else's life, maybe it will make people think before they opened their mouths next time — just a thought."

On gurl.com, a popular Web site for teenage girls, "T.K." wrote: "Hey, the kids say that they did this because they were teased and I can understand where they are coming from and I think that what they did to all of those kids was wrong but a person can only take so much torture."

Others with painful memories of adolescence also poured out their memories on-line this week.

"Remember purple purples? How about wedgies?" wrote a 29-year-old in Lawrence, Alabama, of physical humiliations he recalled. "Until this culture actually learns to stop the out-of-control behavior that is accepted by jock culture you will see a lot more outcasts with guns."

E-mail address: CyberScope@iht.com

## Tools Offered Against Newest Computer Virus

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — A virus that can erase a computer's hard drive and prevent the equipment from restarting is poised to strike Monday, but specialists say off-the-shelf anti-virus software can prevent infection, and several companies are offering free inoculation tools on their Web sites.

The virus has been dubbed "Chernobyl" because its most common version was programmed to activate on computers using Windows 95 and Windows 98 on Monday, the 13th anniversary of the nuclear disaster in Ukraine.

A less common version strikes computers on the 26th day of any month.

Kathy Fithen, manager of the computer emergency response team at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, said the new viruses were not cause for serious concern.

"As long as people stay current with their anti-virus software, they should be in good shape," Ms. Fithen said.

The viruses attempt to erase a computer's hard drive and to write gibberish into the computer's system settings, preventing the machine from being restarted.

The virus was discovered last summer, giving anti-virus companies months to develop software updates to destroy it. But users of those products will be protected only if they have retrieved free updates.

## CONVOCATION NOTICE FOR THE EXPRESSION OF INTEREST FROM INTERNATIONAL CONSULTING FIRMS

The Export and Investment Promotions Corporation, Corpeil, from the Republic of Ecuador, calls for international firms to show their "expression of interests", for the Administration of the segment "Innovation and Business Learning", which is part of the International Trade and Integration Project, with the financing from EUIF, loan 4346-ec. This segment has as objective the development of international competition, through cofinancing of eligible activities.

Corpeil would hire an international consulting firm with proven experience managing export promotion programs, based on the program from EUIF of "Matching Grants", for its administration during the first two years. During this period of time the process of transferring the information through the local personnel from Corpeil should start.

The interested Consulting Firms should give, in a maximum time period of 15 days from the day of this publication:

- a) Letter with your expression of interest, and
- b) Curriculum Vitae from the Consulting Firm

Corpeil, based upon its needs, and according to the norm of the World Bank, will proceed with the elaboration of a Short List of Consultants, for their later presentation of technical and financial proposals.

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Ricardo Estrada E. Executive President

## CURRENCY RATES

April 23						Other Dollar Values						April 23					
Crossed Rates						Currencies						Currencies					
	\$	£	SF	Yen	CS	Dane	Greek	Swede		Per \$	Currency	Per \$	Currency	Per \$	Currency	Per \$	Currency
London (a)	1.6169		2.4333	193.85	2.3871	11.2887	476.37	13.5222	Argentine peso	0.00975	Hong Kong	236.54	M. Zealand \$	1.6182	Ster. lstrms.	6.120	
New York (a)		1.0000	1.5095	119.38	1.4281	6.9827	307.22	8.3403	Australian \$	1.5340	India rupee	47.81	Norw. krone	2.4836	Sch. franc	47.18	
Tokyo	119.38	193.85	79.46		80.69	17.11	N.G.	14.30	Canadian \$	0.6775	Israeli sheqel	4.3072	Pakistani r.	200.48	Sch. franc	119.38	
Toronto	1.4755	2.3829	0.9772	1.2382	0.2106	0.4798	0.1759		Chinese yuan	8.2701	Korean won	200.48	Polish zloty	4.02	Taiwan \$	32.74	
Zurich	1.5045	2.4361		1.2613	1.0186	21.5639	0.4915	0.1802	Czech koruna	35.63	Latvian lats	1200.0	Taipei dollar	2.48		26.20	
									Egypt. pound	2.4145	Malay ringgit	3.80	Saudi riyal	3.671	UAE dirham	3.671	
One euro	1.64	0.8408	2.4015	127.18	1.5721	7.9325	326.30	8.892	Sing. p. n.	7.25	Medicini peso	9.31	Singapore \$	1.7085	Venez. bol.	569.00	
One SDR	1.35	0.8408	2.0406	162.274	1.9995	9.4352	415.51	11.2944									
Source: Associated Press																	
Inforatic rates including commissions...																	
a) To buy one pound in U.S. pay one dollar. *Per 100 N.G. not available. N.A. not available.																	
SDR: Special Drawing Rights of the IMF.																	
Source: Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi (Tokyo); Royal Bank of Canada (Toronto); Banque de France (Paris); IMF (DCO). Other data from Reuters.																	
Euro Values																	
Fixed rates of the ERM member countries, for one euro:																	
Austrian schilling	13.7603	Irish punt	7.8756	Portuguese escudo	200.48	Spanish peseta	166.38										
Belgian/Lux franc	40.3399	Italian lire	1,936.27														
Dutch guilder	3.7603	West German mark	1.9362														
French franc	6.5595	Perfor. escudo	200.48														
German mark	1.9362	Spanish peseta	166.38														

## CAPITAL MARKETS ON MONDAY

## Wall Street Sees Red at U.S. Plan for Bondholders to Accept More Risk

By Mitchell Martin  
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — At the International Monetary Fund semiannual meeting this week, the United States and other countries are planning to propose changes to the way government bonds are issued, using language that is anathema to Wall Street.

The IMF and its large, well-to-do members are worried about what happens to money they put up to bail out countries that run into the kind of financial problems seen in Asia, Brazil and Russia in the wake of the crisis that began in Thailand in July 1997. The issue is part of talks on what is called a new international financial architecture.

Governments see no reason why their aid should be used to pay private-sector bondholders during a crisis, and they want to be able to "bail in" bondholders when they bail out developing countries.

Officials reject the idea, taken for granted by much of the financial community, that bond issuers must pay their obligations on time and in full no matter what.

Commercial banks, which provide a significant though decreasing share of funding to developing markets, can be pressured by governments to give borrowers added time in case of a crisis, and IMF members are seeking to apply the same leverage to bondholders.

Describing the American stance on the issue, Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin said last week: "There is no reason why one category of unsecured private creditors should be regarded as inher-

ently privileged relative to others in a similar position. When both are material, claims of bondholders should not be viewed as necessarily senior to claims of banks."

But on Wall Street, the claims of bondholders are widely viewed as inviolable, and the financial markets do not consider them to be in a similar position to banks.

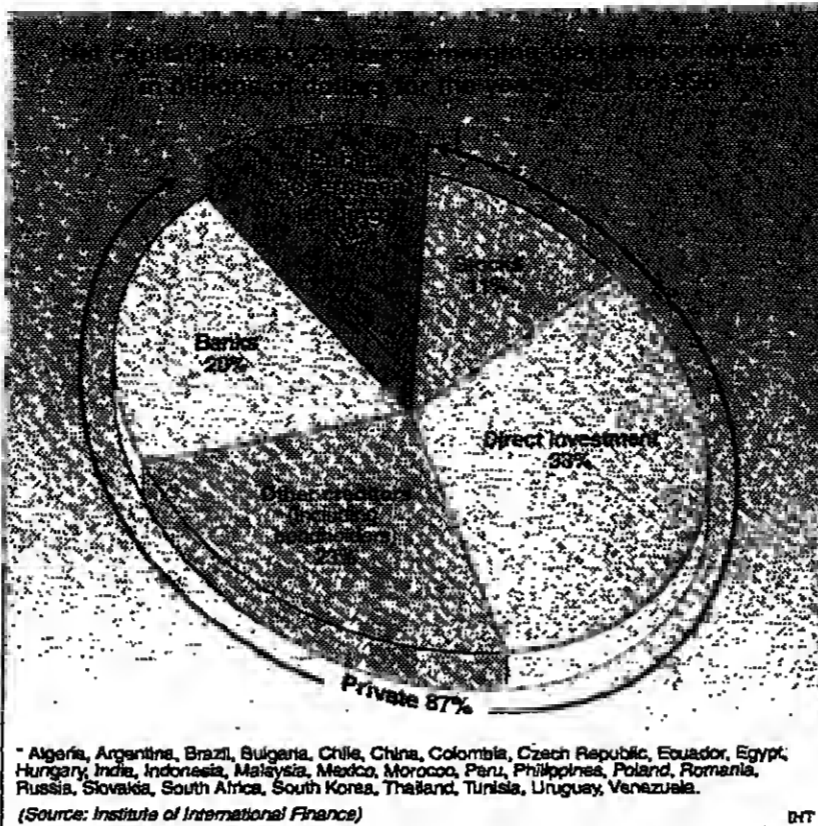
Banks, which have been withdrawing from lending to developing governments since the Latin American debt crisis of the 1980s, typically have ongoing relationships with their borrowers that enable them to exert pressure on their behavior and to monitor their financial conditions.

Most individual bondholders do not have this ability. They simply lend money and hope to get it back with interest. The kinds of bonds in question are rarely sold directly to small, retail investors, but they are commonly held by mutual and pension funds, whose ultimate beneficiaries are often individuals.

"That investor base is crucial," said Charles Dallara, the managing director of the Institute of International Finance, which represents banks, securities firms, insurance companies and asset managers around the world and which has been vociferous in its opposition to the IMF stance.

"Where the debt flows to the emerging markets are going to come from are pension funds and mutual funds," he added. "It is not going to come from bank balance sheets."

Earlier this month, the institute told government creditors and the IMF to stop interfering in its dealings with Pakistan, which had been asked by the IMF to



renegotiate payments on its Eurobonds before getting access to new loans.

The U.S. proposal, as outlined by Mr. Rubin, is less heavy-handed than that. It seeks to influence the way new bonds are issued, not force renegotiations on existing securities. It uses a mechanism that already exists in some Eurobond

issues, although one that is rare in the United States.

Issues known as British-style bonds allow 65 percent to 85 percent of holders to vote to restructure them under various conditions. American-style bonds, by contrast, typically require at least 95 percent of bondholders to agree to renegotiate the debt. American-style bonds also give investors greater ability to sue issuers who do not pay.

If most of the bonds from an affected country were held by large, institutional investors, it would be possible for the IMF to get the required majority to restructure a troubled borrower. The U.S. version of the bail-in plan, which may be less coercive than proposals from some European countries, would clearly spell this out at the time bonds are issued.

That might not be objectionable on Wall Street. It resembles exchangeable bonds, which can be called in by their issuers and swapped for something else. Most of the time, however, that some-

thing else is identified when the bond is purchased. In this case, the amount of loss that a bondholder would suffer would depend on what kind of terms were negotiated.

This uncertainty would likely require the issuers to pay higher interest rates than American-style bonds. It would also discourage some investors from buying the bonds at all, reducing the size of the market and pushing up interest rates.

"This is really not favorable from an investor's point of view," said Desmond Lachlan, an emerging-markets specialist at Salomon Smith Barney Inc. "What this means is that you are going to be driving up the interest-rate spread that these countries are having to pay."

Proponents of bail-in seem not to accept this point. They say that investors get paid 6 percentage points to 7 percentage points a year more than purchasers of U.S. Treasury bonds, the benchmark for world credit markets, so they have already been compensated for their risks.

Addressing the issue last week, James Wolfensohn, the president of the World Bank, the IMF's sister organization, said, "It is simply impossible for the official institutions or governments essentially to give an implicit guarantee to private investors in the bond market who get 600 or 700 basis points spread and then come back when there is a problem and want to be bailed out."

Mr. Dallara suggested that governments are taking the view that they are still dealing with banks, not bondholders. Private investors do not petition the IMF for bailouts, they simply trust that borrowers will repay them according to the terms of their bonds.

Something that both sides agree upon is that developing-country issuers need to improve the information about their economies that they provide to private investors, which could at least give early warnings that problems were brewing.

Of course, an early warning would be a signal for skittish investors to sell their bonds, putting pressure on the borrower.

The United States is seeking to discourage yield-hungry investors from blindly buying developing-country bonds. Mr. Rubin said the proposal aimed to "induce creditors and investors in industrial countries to weigh risk more appropriately, so as to help avoid the excesses in capital flows and leverage that contributed significantly to the

crisis." The availability of easy money has been blamed for poorly conceived investments that became unprofitable once economic growth slowed in developing countries beginning in 1997.

Yet with their economies still limping, these nations will suffer if they cannot obtain capital to pay for restructuring of inefficient industries.

"Restructuring," Mr. Lachlan said, "is often a euphemism for downsizing." An increase in financing costs, he added, is hardly going to be conducive to reforms that require short-term sacrifices for long-term gains.

Another problem is that the very issuance of a British-style bond might come to be seen as an indication that the country is in trouble.

The U.S. plan would encourage borrowers to sell British-style bonds by giving them preferential access to an IMF contingent credit line. Unlike traditional IMF assistance, which is given after a country runs into trouble, a contingent credit line would provide a kind of insurance against adverse conditions.

But this could also be a self-defeating mechanism. If a country sells British-style bonds in order to qualify for a credit line, it will be sending a signal to investors that it foresees potential troubles. That could dry up the flow of investments to the country, creating the problem it was seeking to avoid.

Another issue is that by setting up a system for restructuring government bonds, the U.S. plan would reduce their attraction when compared with other investments in the countries. The American plan does not apply to corporate bonds, as other proposals before the IMF might do, nor to stocks. A successful bailout would thus benefit investors in these securities but would not require their participation in the rescue.

Proponents of the U.S. plan point out that by the time a rescue operation is mounted, private securities markets have been severely reduced in value. They also noted that another point of the U.S. proposal is to discourage IMF aid to countries that seek to fix their exchange rates, so investors in local-currency stocks and bonds would be likely to face big foreign-exchange losses.

Some of the Wall Street opposition may be coming from underwriters and traders who would suffer if bond issuance were curbed and issues subject to renegotiation.

## Surging Yields Test the Patience of Bond Bulls

Bloomberg News

NEW YORK — Bullish bond investors are finding it harder and harder to keep the faith.

The U.S. economy is roaring ahead, now in its ninth year of expansion. Benchmark U.S. stock indexes are at record levels. What's more, the financial crisis that overtook economies in Latin America and Asia and sent investors rushing to the safety of Treasuries looks like it's abating.

The yield on the benchmark 30-year bond has climbed almost a full point from the 31-year low of 4.69 percent it reached in October. It finished at 5.59 percent Friday, up from 5.57 percent at the beginning of the week, with a price of 94 31/32, down from 95 10/32.

Since the start of the year, Treasury bonds have handed investors losses of 5.5 percent, when price declines and interest payments are taken into account. This isn't the scenario bond bulls envisioned. "I've had to be patient and remain firm in my conviction that we can have lower yields," said Alan Koepplin, who helps manage \$2 billion at SG Cowen Asset Management in New York. "It's just going to take some time."

Mr. Koepplin and other bulls are bet-

ting that the U.S. economy will slow down and inflation will stay tame as corporate profits shrink and weakness overseas persists. While many investors

## U.S. CREDIT MARKETS

are convinced that these events are on the horizon, it's getting to be a long wait.

At the root of the bond market's woes is the U.S. economy, which has confounded investors, economists and even Federal Reserve officials with its resilience.

A government report Friday is expected to report that the economy expanded at a 3.4 percent annual pace in the first three months of the year, after growing at a 6 percent clip in the fourth quarter of 1998.

Just as surprising has been inflation, often a by-product of economic growth. It has not speeded up, even though oil prices have surged almost 70 percent since reaching a 12-year low in December. Consumer prices rose 1.7 percent in the 12 months to March, marking the 17th straight month that the annualized rate of inflation stayed below 2 percent.

The price component of this week's gross domestic product report, known as the deflator, probably will indicate tame inflation, as will a separate government report on quarterly employment costs Thursday.

Still, investors say the potential for faster inflation exists as long as the economy keeps up its robust pace. Growth also would keep the Federal Reserve from cutting interest rates, analysts said. But they said a rate increase also was unlikely.

But Scott Grannis, a funds manager at Western Asset Management in Pasadena, California, said a slowing economy, Fed rate cut and 30-year yields as low as 4.5 percent are still in his forecast, even if they have not happened as soon as he thought.

"I would have expected Fed easing by now," Mr. Grannis said. "The surge in the economy put it off a bit but it doesn't cancel it." Michael Mullaney, a funds manager at Boston Partners Asset Management, said that with the Fed on hold and robust growth, there was "no reason to buy Treasuries." Mr. Mullaney said he favored higher-yielding corporate and mortgage debt.

## New International Bond Issues

Compiled by Paul Floren

Issuer	Amount (\$millions)	Maturity	Coupon %	Price	Price week	Terms
<b>Floating Rate Notes</b>						
Bremer Landebank	\$200	2000	5%	100.03276	-	Under 3-month Libor. Noncallable. Fees 0.05%. Denominations \$10,000. (Credit Suisse First Boston.)
Den Norske Bank	\$300	2001	Libor	99.947	-	Interest will be 3-month Libor. Noncallable. Fees 0.10%. (Credit Suisse First Boston.)
Provident Home Equity Loan Trust Series 1999-PNB1	\$500	2025	0.29	100	-	Over 1-month Libor. Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. (Merrill Lynch.)
Banco Popolare di Bergamo	EUR200	2002	0.075	99.974	-	Over 3-month Euribor. Noncallable. Fees 0.175%. (Goldman Smith Barney.)
Banco Popolare di Brescia	EUR250	2001	1%	99.95	-	Over 3-month Euribor. Noncallable. Fees 0.175%. (Cobalt.)
Banque PSA Finance	EUR200	2001	0.10	100.005	-	Over 3-month Euribor. Noncallable. Fees 0.08%. (CCF Clearhouse.)
BFI Bausparkasse	EUR500	2009	1%	99.86	-	Over 6-month Euribor. Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. Denominations 10,000 euros. (Dresdner Kleinwort Benson.)
Cayamadrid	EUR750	2000	Euribor 00.036	-	-	Interest will be 3-month Euribor. Noncallable. Fees 75%. (Credit Suisse First Boston.)
Mediocredito Centrale	EUR500	2004	0.10	99.88	-	Over 3-month Euribor. Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. (Cobalt.)
Morgan Stanley Dean Witter	EUR500	2002	1%	99.964	-	Over 3-month Euribor. Noncallable. Fees 0.20%. Denominations 100,000 euros. (Morgan Stanley Dean Witter.)
Norbanke Hypothek	EUR250	2000	Euribor 00.035	-	-	Interest will be 3-month Euribor. Noncallable. Fees 0.05%. Denominations 50,000 euros. (Paribas.)
Westfalisches Hypothekbank	EUR250	2000	1%	99.934	-	Under 3-month Euribor. Noncallable. Fees not disclosed. (Gocke & Generale.)
Dan Danske Bank	DKK100	2005	0.35	100	-	Over 3-month Libor. Callable at par in 2002, thereafter 1.85% over 3-month Libor. Fees 0.35%. (Chase Manhattan Int'l.)
<b>Fixed</b>						
BNG	\$500	2009	6%	100.209	100.15	Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. (Merrill Lynch.)
BP Amoco	\$300	2002	5 1/2%	101.2025	-	Reaffirmed at 100.015. Noncallable. Fees 1 1/4%. (Credit Suisse First Boston.)
Cile	\$300	2006	6%	99.864	-	Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. (Chase Manhattan Int'l.)
Citibank Brazil	\$100	2000	10%	99.768	-	Noncallable. Fees not disclosed. Denominations \$10,000. (Goldman Smith Barney.)
Commerzbank	\$500	2004	5 1/4%	99.42	97.85	Reaffirmed at 97.82. Noncallable. Fungible with outstanding issue raising total to \$1 billion. Fees 1 1/4%. (Werbung Dillan Road.)
DW Pont	\$400	2009	5 1/2%	99.56	98.87	Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. (Morgan Stanley Dean Witter.)
LB Capital Markets	\$100	2006	5 1/2%	100.04	-	Reaffirmed at 99.718. Noncallable. Fungible with outstanding issue raising total to \$600 million. Fees 1 1/4%. (ABN Amro.)
Nestle	\$200	2004	5 1/2%	101.776	99.87	Reaffirmed at 100.151. Noncallable. Fees 1 1/4%. (ABN Amro.)
Robobank	\$500	2004	5 1/2%	101.337	99.60	Reaffirmed at 99.712. Noncallable. Fees 1 1/4%. (J.P. Morgan.)
Toyota Motor Credit Corp.	\$400	2004	5 1/2%	101.358	99.40	Reaffirmed at 99.733. Noncallable. Fees 1 1/4%. (Deutsche Bank.)
AB Spintab	EUR500	2009	4 1/4%	101.274	99.45	Reaffirmed at 99.449. Noncallable. Fees 2%. (Paribas.)
Comunidad Autonoma Andaluca	EUR180	2009	4 1/4%	99.56	100.12	Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. (Werbung Dillan Road.)
Commerzbank	EUR500	2009	4 1/4%	99.053	-	Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. (ABN Amro.)
Elavro	EUR2,000	2009	4%	98.825	-	Reaffirmed at 98.45. Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. (Deutsche Bank.)
General Electric Capital Corp.	EUR100	2009	3 1/2%	100.605	-	Reaffirmed at 99.03. Noncallable. Fees 1 1/4%. (Werbung Dillan Road.)
Hesse	EUR1,000	2009	4%	99.098	99.18	Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. (Werbung Dillan Road.)
Independent Newspapers	EUR200	2009	5 1/4%	99.406	-	Noncallable. Fees not disclosed. Denominations \$50,000. (Gore Shucksmith.)
KBC Int'l. Finance	EUR300	perpet.	5%	101.153	-	Reaffirmed at 99.718. Callable in 2007, thereafter coupon becomes 2 1/2% over 6-month Euribor. Fees 2%. (ABN Amro.)
KFW	EUR200	2003	3%	99.714	-	Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. (Commerzbank.)
Landeswirtschaftliche Rentenbank	EUR1,000	2009	4 1/4%	99.078	-	Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. (ABN Amro.)
Nuremberger Hypothekbank	EUR750	2004	3 1/4%	98.975	-	Reaffirmed at 98.82. Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. (ABN Amro.)
South Africa	EUR500	2006	4 1/4%	99.183	100.25	Noncallable. Fees 0.55%. (Credit Suisse First Boston.)
Standard Chartered	EUR600	2009	5 1/4%	99.118	99.70	Noncallable. Fees 0.50%. (Goldman Sachs.)
Tokyo Electric Power Corp.	EUR1,000	2009	4 1/4%	99.738	99.95	Reaffirmed at 98.738. Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. (Int'l Bank of Japan.)
Turkey	EUR150	2004	9 1/4%	101 1/4	-	Noncallable. Fungible with outstanding issue raising total to \$450 million euros. Fees 2 1/4%. (Deutsche Bank.)
San America Institutional Funding	\$200	2009	5 1/4%	99.118	-	Noncallable. Fees 0.25%. (Merrill Lynch.)
Export Development Corp.	C\$600	2005	5%	98.741	-	Noncallable. Fees not disclosed. (RBC DSI Global Markets.)

## Most Active International Bonds

The 250 most active international bonds traded through the Euroclear system for the week ending April 23. Prices supplied by Telekurs.					Rank Name Cpa Maturity Price Ctl Yld					Rank Name Cpa Maturity Price Ctl Yld				
British Pound					Japanese Yen					Swedish Krona				
151 Telewest	zero	04/15/99	65.5315	6.990	32 Germany	4 1/2	05/17/02	104.4500	4.300	119 Sweden	5	01/28/09	105.7060	4.7500
162 Birent	100	12/15/99	107.4200	6.990	33 Germany	4 1/2	04/27/01	119.4000	5.0200	120 Sweden	5	04/29/09	138.2850	6.5100
168 EIB	5%	12/15/99	102.5716	5.300	34 Germany	5	11/12/02	106.4400	4.6900	121 Sweden	5	03/27/01	64.4723	9.1300
170 Telewest 1449	zero	04/15/00	143.1170	6.990	35 Germany	4 1/2	02/29/02	104.1113	4.3100	122 Sweden	5	03/27/01	63.6332	7.1500
171 NH Corn	5%	04/15/00	143.1170	6.990	36 Germany	5	08/28/01	104.9300	4.7100	149 Sweden 1037	8	08/15/07	127.1040	6.2900
211 Amintion Fin	zero	01/10/02	23.9980	6.2900	37 Germany	5	01/23/01	110.5650	5.1400	149 Sweden 1040	8	05/05/08	117.2230	5.5400
215 Farnie MacWee	5%	06/01/02	143.7700	6.990	38 Germany	5	10/14/01	110.7275	5.3200	210 Sweden	13	04/15/01	126.1010	10.8200
217 GECC	5%	07/01/04	19.2200	6.1700	39 Germany	5	08/28/01	104.9300	4.7100	211 Sweden	13	04/15/01	126.1010	10.8200
221 Thome Fin	zero	07/01/04	63.4921	9.0200	40 Germany	5	08/28/01	104.9300	4.7100	212 Sweden	13	04/15/01	126.1010	10.8200
223 Thome Fin	zero	03/30/02	6.5324	11.7000	41 Germany	5	08/28/01	104.9300	4.7100	213 Sweden	13	04/15/01	126.1010	10.8200
235 Fin Rend Hou	11.126	09/24/50	161.1571	6.990	42 Germany	5	08/28/01	104.9300	4.7100	214 Sweden	13	04/15/01	126.1010	10.8200
Danish Krone					U.S. Dollar					U.S. Dollar				
25 Denmark	6	11/15/09	114.9900	5.2200	8 Brazil Cap S.L.	5	04/15/14	84.5891	5.9100	11 Brazil L FRN	zero	04/15/04	76.7332	0.0000
40 Denmark	7	12/15/04	116.5700	5.9900	11 Brazil L FRN	zero	04/15/04	76.7332	0.0000	22 Argentina	5%	01/01/01	64.4723	9.1300
43 Denmark	9	11/15/00	108.7800	8.2700	22 Argentina	5%	01/01/01	64.4723	9.1300	28 Argentina	5%	03/27/01	63.6332	7.1500
53 Denmark	8	03/15/00	124.0000	6.9900	29 Venezuela FRN	5%	12/18/07	76.2000	2.7900	39 Mexico S.L. FRN	11%	05/15/06	119	9.6600
67 Denmark	7	11/15/07	126.1010	5.8100	39 Mexico S.L. FRN	11%	05/15/06	119	9.6600	62 Brazil S.L. FRN	5%	04/15/12	68.0000	8.6600
71 Denmark	8	11/15/01	111.70	7.1600	74 Brazil S.L. FRN	zero	04/15/12	68.0000	8.6600	74 Brazil S.L. FRN	zero	04/15/12	68.0000	8.6600
83 Denmark	4	02/15/01	101.4800	3.5400	84 IADB	5%	04/15/09	98.3100	5.7200	84 IADB	5%	04/15/09	98.3100	5.7200
88 Denmark	5	08/15/01	106.4400	4.6900	92 Venezuela	5%	04/15/12	68.0000	8.6600	92 Venezuela	5%	04/15/12	68.0000	8.6600
113 Denmark	7	11/15/02	126.8800	5.2900	97					97				
121 Denmark	6	10/15/02	108.8000	5.1900	97					97				
123 Nykredit	6	10/15/02	108.8000	5.1900	97					97				
124 Nykredit	6	10/15/02	108.8000	5.1900	97					97				
125 Nykredit	6	10/15/02	108.8000	5.1900	97					97				
126 Nykredit	6	10/15/02	108.8000	5.1900	97					97				
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207 Nykredit	6	10/15/02	108.8000	5.1900	97					97				
208 Nykredit	6	10/15/02	108.8000	5.1900	97					97				
209 Nykredit</														



Figures as of close  
of trading Friday, April 23

Figures as of close  
of trading Friday, April 23

This table shows the performance of Nasdaq-listed mutual funds through Friday, June 1, and includes the top 4,000 funds in terms of assets. There are more than 6,100 funds currently listed on Nasdaq.

Group numbers are shown in bold type, with individual fund numbers in each group indicated below. Funds that are not part of a group are not indicated.

NAV is the net asset price. Li, the portfolio value, is reported by the number of shares outstanding, as reported by the fund through Nasdaq. NAV excludes all sales or redemption charges. Change shows variation from the previous Friday.

Name, fund ticker, c - available only through contractual plan; n - no front-end sales charge; deferred sales charge; r - redemption fee or cooling-off period; l - load; s - sales charge; f - fund; i - reduced sales load only; p - 1 - footnote p only

1



## SPORTS

# Spain Wins Youth Cup

## Gonzalez Stars in 4-0 Victory Over Japan

Compiled by the Staff from Dispatches

LAGOS — Pablo Gonzalez scored twice as Spain crushed Japan, 4-0, to win the World Youth Cup for the first time. Gonzalez, who plays for Numancia in the Spanish second division, finished as the tournament's joint leading scorer, with five goals, alongside Mahamadou Diarra of Mali.

Saludes Barkero gave the Spaniards the lead in the fifth minute Saturday when he drilled a free kick through the Japanese defensive wall. From then on, Spain was in control.

Gonzalez scored in the 14th and 30th minutes. Gabriel Garcia de la Torre added a fourth early in the second half, converting a chance that had been brilliantly set up by a fellow Barcelona reserve, Xavier Hernandez.

Japan was playing without Shinji Ota, its captain, who had been suspended for receiving too many yellow cards in the tournament.

Spain, whose players are nearly all reserves with first- and second-division clubs, could have been further ahead by

half-time had it not been for two saves by Japan's goalkeeper, Yuta Minami.

"Spain are a beautiful team, and they thoroughly deserved to win," said Philippe Troussier, Japan's coach.

The Frenchman said he was delighted to have taken his team of underdogs so far.

"We can only be happy with our second place," he said. "For a country like Japan, which is just getting started in football terms, getting to the final is a victory."

Troussier said Japan had only two players on its team who played in the country's first division.

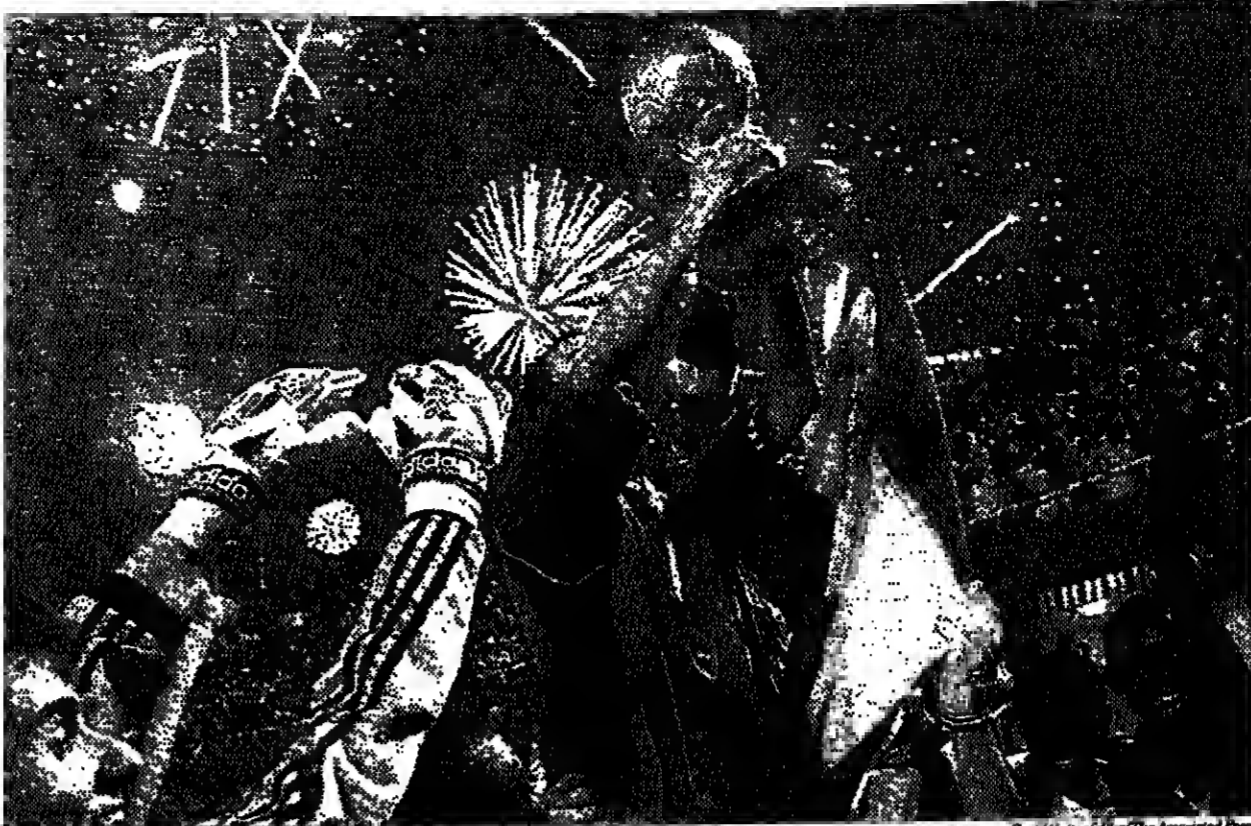
Earlier, the competition's other surprise team, Mali, took third place by beating Uruguay, 1-0.

"This is the biggest moment in the history of football in Mali," said the team's coach, Mahamadou Coulibaly.

Seydou Keita, a striker with Olympique Marseille, scored the only goal with a free kick in the 30th minute.

Keita was voted the best player in the tournament.

(Reuters, AFP)



Players for Spain's under-20 national team holding the Youth World Cup high after shutting out Japan.

# Japan's Soccer Teams Struggle to Connect With Potential Fans

By Sebastian Moffett  
Special to the Herald Tribune

TOKYO — On most Saturdays Saburo Kawabuchi, a thick-set former international footballer, visits a Japanese soccer ground and takes a seat behind the goal where he can talk to the home fans. As the founding chairman of the J.League, Kawabuchi is entitled to watch from the VIP boxes. But the prime view doesn't tell him what he wants to know: Why, after the league's explosive start, have so many fans gone away?

Some stadiums still pulsate: The Urawa Reds' home matches are usually sold out to roaring fans with flags and banners matching anything in Italy. But at others the atmosphere is ghostly. Visiting Kobe attracts as few as 3,000 spectators to a stadium that can seat 60,000.

Two teams based in Yokohama, faced with high payrolls and poor turnouts, merged at the end of last year. Several others are on the verge of collapse.

Kawabuchi says he may have the an-

swer, and six years after setting up the J.League he has embarked on an even greater project — fixing it so its popularity lasts.

"People need to feel, 'This is our town's team,' like they do with Barcelona or Tottenham Hotspur," he said.

"In some places, they don't have this."

The trouble started when the J.League kicked off amid fireworks and flashing lights in 1993, only to spin out of control. Kawabuchi had hoped the league would start a social revolution; he envisioned Japanese fans supporting their local teams and beginning to shift the center of their lives from their employers to their communities. But the J.League became the greatest show in the nation, the clubs reassured by packed stadiums, forgot to cultivate a local support base.

The Yokohama merger showed how little the people running Japan's soccer clubs understood what makes people follow the game. All Nippon Airways, the majority owner of Yokohama FC, and

Nissan Motor, owner of the Yokohama Marinos, had both run into financial problems in Japan's recession. They thought that by joining their money-losing teams, they could cut costs while pooling the spectators.

"They don't understand soccer," said Koji Maeda, who was chairman of the Flügels players' committee and oow plays for Jubilo Iwata. "They should have asked us to take pay cuts instead."

Kawabuchi's first reform is the launch of a new second division to spice up matches with the threat of relegation and give a chance to towns that want a soccer team. His other is to force clubs to spend more sensibly and keep their player salary bill below 50 percent of revenue. Until last year, some veteran Japanese players were earning around \$1 million a year. Now, some of these players have either swallowed pay cuts, retired or moved abroad.

"Based on this experience," Kawabuchi said, referring to Yokohama, "clubs have to support themselves."

They can't just rely on subsidies from their parent companies."

Urawa, a commuter town near Tokyo, has become a model for the league. The team has encouraged local fan clubs. Reds posters hang in Urawa's shops, and Reds theme cocktails are served in its bars.

Another club, Shimizu S-Pulse, nearly collapsed in 1997. But after local groups collected money to save it, attendance rose and it is now challenging for the championship.

Months after the Yokohama merger, disgruntled Flügels supporters formed a new club, Yokohama FC, which they will run themselves so they don't have to wear the colors of the defunct Flügels and play in the Japan Football League, effectively the third division. Teams from the JFL will be eligible for promotion to the J.League's second division.

While many clubs struggle, the level of play has risen. One Japanese player, Hidetoshi Nakata, is the star midfielder for Perugia in Italy's Serie A. Although

the Japanese under-20 team lost in the final of the Youth World Cup on Saturday, just reaching the final was an accomplishment.

Last summer, a decade after Japan's national team struggled to beat teams such as Thailand, it qualified for the World Cup (although it lost all its matches). Expectations are so high that when Japan lost to Brazil, 2-0, in a recent friendly match, Japanese fans booed their players from the pitch.

"They've made great strides because they're hungry," said Steve Perryman, a former Tottenham player and England international who is the S-Pulse manager. "The players come at you saying, 'Teach me something else.' You have to send them home after training."

Kawabuchi looks at the fuss made over the national team and sees demand for soccer — as long as it is played by a team people can call their own. "In advanced soccer countries, club matches are the ones that sell out," he said. "In soccer, Japan is a still a developing nation."

# SCOREBOARD

## BASEBALL

### MAJOR LEAGUE STANDINGS

#### AMERICAN LEAGUE

##### EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	12	6	.667	—
Toronto	11	8	.579	1 1/2
Boston	9	9	.500	2 1/2
Baltimore	4	13	.235	7 1/2

##### CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cleveland	12	4	.750	—
Chicago	9	9	.500	2 1/2
Detroit	7	10	.412	5 1/2
Minnesota	7	11	.389	6
Kansas City	6	10	.375	6 1/2

##### WEST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Texas	10	8	.556	—
Colorado	9	9	.500	1 1/2
Seattle	7	11	.389	3 1/2
San Diego	7	10	.412	3 1/2
Los Angeles	6	10	.375	4

#### NATIONAL LEAGUE

##### EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	10	6	.625	—
New York	11	7	.611	—
Philadelphia	9	8	.529	1 1/2
Montreal	4	10	.286	5 1/2
Florida	5	12	.294	5 1/2

##### CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	10	6	.625	—
Houston	9	7	.563	1 1/2
Pittsburgh	8	9	.471	2 1/2
Cincinnati	6	9	.400	3 1/2
Chicago	6	10	.375	4

##### WEST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
San Francisco	12	7	.632	—
Arizona	10	8	.556	1 1/2
Los Angeles	9	9	.500	2 1/2
San Diego	8	9	.471	3
Colorado	6	9	.400	3 1/2

#### FRONTIER LEAGUE

##### AMERICAN LEAGUE

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cleveland	102	62	.617	—
Baltimore	90	70	.563	1 1/2
Chicago	85	75	.531	2 1/2
Minnesota	80	80	.500	3 1/2
Seattle	75	85	.469	4 1/2

##### NATIONAL LEAGUE

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	102	62	.617	—
New York	90	70	.563	1 1/2
Philadelphia	85	75	.531	2 1/2
Montreal	80	80	.500	3 1/2
Florida	75	85	.469	4 1/2

## SATURDAY'S LINEUP

### AMERICAN LEAGUE

#### EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	12	6	.667	—
Toronto	11	8	.579	1 1/2
Boston	9	9	.500	2 1/2
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Kansas City	6	10	.375	6 1/2

#### WEST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Texas	10	8	.556	—
Colorado	9	9	.500	1 1/2
Seattle	7	11	.389	3 1/2
San Diego	7	10	.412	3 1/2
Los Angeles	6	10	.375	4

#### NATIONAL LEAGUE

##### EAST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Atlanta	10	6	.625	—
New York	11	7	.611	—
Philadelphia	9	8	.529	1 1/2
Montreal	4	10	.286	5 1/2
Florida	5	12	.294	5 1/2

##### CENTRAL DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
St. Louis	10	6	.625	—
Houston	9	7	.563	1 1/2
Pittsburgh	8	9	.471	2 1/2
Cincinnati	6	9	.400	3 1/2
Chicago	6	10	.375	4

##### WEST DIVISION

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
San Francisco	12	7	.632	—
Arizona	10	8	.556	1 1/2
Los Angeles	9	9	.500	2 1/2
San Diego	8	9	.471	3
Colorado	6	9	.400	3 1/2

#### FRONTIER LEAGUE

##### AMERICAN LEAGUE

Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cleveland	102	62	.617	—
Baltimore	90	70	.563	1 1/2
Chicago	85	75	.531	2 1/2
Minnesota	80	80	.500	3 1/2
Seattle	75	85	.469	4 1/2

##### NATIONAL LEAGUE

	Hiroshima	8	8	0	500	S
E	Hanshin	8	9	0	471	5 1/2
120—5	7	S	Yaku0	7	10	0
					412	6 1/2

## SPORTS

## Red Sox Rally to Defeat Indians

Martinez Retires 14 of First 17 Batters He Faces in 3-2 Victory

**The Associated Press**  
BOSTON — Pedro Martinez pitched a seven-hitter and Jason Varitek hit a two-run double in the seventh inning to lead the Boston Red Sox to a 3-2 victory over the Cleveland Indians on Sunday.

Martinez (4-0), who retired 14 of the first 17 batters he faced, struck out 10 to become the second four-game winner in the American League. He allowed an

## AL ROUNDOUP

RBI single to Kenny Lofton in the sixth and an RBI single to Wil Cordero in the ninth.

Damon Buford saved at least one run for the Red Sox in the sixth, making a diving catch on Roberto Alomar's fly ball and doubling Lofton off second base. Bartolo Colon, also looking for his fourth victory, was almost as tough as Martinez, allowing one run and seven hits in six innings.

Paul Snider (2-1) started the seventh and allowed a one-out single to Mike Stanley, a walk to Troy O'Leary and a single to Buford to load the bases. Varitek followed with a double down the right-field line to make it 3-1.

The Red Sox led off the game with back-to-back doubles to take a 1-0 lead. Jose Offerman doubled off the wall and Jeff Frye brought him in on a double down the right-field line.

Colon bailed himself out of a few early jams, striking out Frye with runners on first and second in the second, and whiffing Buford with runners on second and third in the third. In the fourth, he gave up a leadoff single to

Varitek and walked Darren Lewis before striking out Offerman and getting Frye in ground into a double play.

**In games played Saturday:**  
Mariners 9, Devil Rays 4 Ken Griffey hit two of the Mariners' six solo home runs as Seattle snapped the Tampa Bay Devil Rays' franchise-record six-game winning streak.

Griffey went 4-for-5 and drove in three runs. He and Jay Buhner homered on back-to-back pitches as the visiting Mariners hit three solo homers during a four-run fourth inning.

**Yankees 7, Blue Jays 4** Chili Davis' three-run homer in the eighth inning broke a tie and carried the Yankees to a victory against Toronto in New York.

New York, which trailed 2-0 early on, scored four unearned runs off Roy Halladay in the fourth on two-run singles by Chuck Knoblauch and Derek Jeter. Halladay issued a pair of two-out walks, wrapped around an error by the second baseman, Pat Kelly, to fill the bases. Knoblauch and Jeter followed with singles.

**White Sox 3, Tigers 1** Jaime Navarro won his first game since July 15 as the White Sox beat Detroit in Chicago to win their sixth straight game.

Paul Konerko scored the decisive run on a throwing error in the second inning by Dan Palmer, the Detroit third baseman. The Tigers, who lead the American League in fielding, committed three errors, their first multi-error game this year. Dave Miltich, the losing pitcher, made the other two errors.

**Rays 4, Angels 3** Mike Sweeney's fielder's choice with the bases loaded in

the eighth inning scored Rey Sanchez with the decisive run in Kansas City.

Tim Salmon accounted for Anaheim's runs with a two-run homer off Jeff Suppan in the fourth and a solo shot in the sixth.

With the game tied at 3-3, Sanchez and Carlos Beltran reached base on infield singles to shortstop Andy Sheets. After a sacrifice bunt by Carlos Febles, Joe Randa was walked intentionally.

Sweeney then hit a sharp grounder to Sheets, who forced Randa at second. But the throw in first base bounced away from Darin Erstad, allowing Sanchez to score.

**Red Sox 9, Indians 4** In Boston, Nomar Garciaparra's run-scoring single broke a tie in the sixth inning, and Boston beat Cleveland. But the Sox lost their starting pitcher, Bret Saberhagen, to a shoulder injury. Saberhagen, who missed 15 months with a bad right shoulder in the 1996-97 season, left the game with stiffness in his shoulder after throwing two warm-up pitches before the fifth inning.

**Rangers 7, Twins 2** Mike Morgan gave Texas its third consecutive solid pitching performance, and Juan Gonzalez drove in three runs for the second straight game as the Rangers won in Minneapolis.

Morgan (4-0) gave up seven hits and two runs in seven innings for the best start to a season of his career. His four victories, including one in relief, up the major leagues.

**Athletics 3, Orioles 0** Matt Stairs broke up a scoreless duel with a three-run homer in the sixth inning, and Oakland ended an eight-game losing streak against the Orioles by winning in Baltimore.

## Caminiti Keys Rally as Astros Win, 4-3

**The Associated Press**  
Ken Caminiti drove in two runs with his 1,500th career hit to key a three-run eighth-inning rally that gave the Houston Astros victory in Cincinnati.

The Astros won, 4-3, Saturday. Craig Biggio and Derek Bell led off the eighth

## NL ROUNDOUP

with consecutive singles. After Jeff Bagwell walked to load the bases, Caminiti singled in two runs to tie the game, 3-3. Houston took the lead when Richard Hidalgo grounded into a force play at second.

Barry Larkin was in a 2-for-29 slump when he hit a three-run homer off Mike Hampton to give Cincinnati a 3-0 lead in the third.

The Astros scored in the seventh when center fielder Mike Cameron misplayed Hidalgo's fly ball and was charged with a three-base error. Hidalgo scored on Chad Everett's infield single.

**Brewers 5, Pirates 3** Jeremy Burnitz hit a two-run homer off rookie Scott Sauerbeck to complete a four-run Milwaukee comeback in Pittsburgh.

Pitcher Todd Ritchie came on to get the first batter in the eighth, but third baseman Ed Sprague threw away Marquis Grissom's grounder for his fifth error of the season. After Cirillo reached on a force-play grounder, Burnitz greeted Sauerbeck by hitting a 3-2 pitch into the right-field seats for his fifth homer.

Burnitz also hit a sacrifice fly in the sixth inning after the first of two key errors by the Pirates, and Jeff Cirillo homered for the second day in a row.

**Cubs 2, Mets 0** Chicago's injury-plagued pitching staff received a lift when Terry Mulholland made a strong first start of the season.

Mulholland allowed seven hits in six innings, while Sammy Sosa hit his fourth homer and made a great rally-killing catch in the eighth inning as the Cubs won at home against the New York Mets.

Mulholland (1-0), whose first seven appearances this season were in relief, made his first start since last September for a Cubs team with five pitchers currently on the disabled list.

**Giants 6, Rockies 4** Charlie Hayes hit a two-run triple in his first game back from a suspension and Shawn Estes pitched seven strong innings as the Giants beat visiting Colorado. Hayes went 2-for-4 and also scored two runs in his return from a four-game suspension for charging Arizona pitcher Todd Stottlemyre from second base last week.

**Phillies 6, Expos 5** Philadelphia overcame a five-run deficit after two innings to win in Montreal.

Scott Rolen hit his sixth homer on his second pitch from reliever Bobby Ayala (10-2) in the eighth to complete the comeback.

Montreal had runners at first and second in the bottom of the ninth but

Mike Mordecai could only hit a grounder to third baseman Rolen to end the game.

The Expos also had runners at first and third with none out in the seventh, but couldn't score because Rolen jumped to snare Vladimir Guerrero's line drive.

**Braves 8, Marlins 7** Brian Hunter went 2-for-4 and drove in two runs as Atlanta overcame four errors and a rare shaky start by Greg Maddux to win in Miami. Maddux (3-0) won despite allowing six runs, two earned, and 10 hits in five innings. He also made two errors, leading to three unearned runs.

But he helped key Atlanta's comeback from a 6-3 deficit by hitting a run-scoring triple, the first of his career, and scored on Gerald Williams' sacrifice fly to cut the lead to 6-5 in the fourth.

**Padres 7, Diamondbacks 2** Woody Williams got his first victory for San Diego and Reggie Sanders hit two homers as San Diego won at home to end Arizona's five-game winning streak.

Phil Nevin, Greg Myers and Tony Gwynn also homered for the Padres; whose five homers were one shy of the team record. Gwynn's homer extended his hitting streak to 13 games, longest in the majors this season.

**Dodgers 6, Cardinals 1** Eric Karros hit a two-run homer and Eric Young went 3-for-4 with a bases-empty homer as Los Angeles beat visiting St. Louis.

Mark McGwire went 0-for-3, including two strikeouts and a walk, against Dodgers starter Ismael Valdes (2-0), who pitched his first complete game since last June. Valdes gave up six hits, struck out 10 and walked one.

Valdes gave up a home run in the seventh to Fernando Tatis, who on Friday night became the first major leaguer to hit two grand slams in the same inning.



Mike Johnson of the Maple Leafs, right, knocking Jody Hall of the Flyers off his skates in Toronto's 2-1 victory.

## Wild Goal Lifts Carolina Over Bruins

**The Associated Press**  
Ray Sheppard scored his second goal of the game off a wild scramble with 2:55 left in overtime to give the Carolina Hurricanes victory, 3-2, over the visiting Boston Bruins and tie their Eastern Conference series at 1-1.

Steve Chiasson, a defenseman, set up the game-winning goal Saturday night with a slap shot that the Boston goalie,

## NHL PLAYOFFS

Byron Dafeo, stopped but could not hold. The puck rebounded into a crowd of players. Martin Gelinas banged a shot off the left post and the puck flew right to Sheppard, who scored.

"When I get in there, I just look for the puck. I don't look for anything else," said Sheppard, who scored his 26th and 27th career playoff goals.

The Hurricanes overcame the loss of Ron Francis, who sprained an ankle in the series opener.

Carolina also had to play with only four defensemen from the second period on after losing Marek Malik to a thigh bruise and Nolan Pratt to a groin strain.

**Maple Leafs 2, Flyers 1** Toronto scored twice in the last two minutes to beat visiting Philadelphia and square the playoff series at 1-1. Keith Jones scored for Philadelphia in the first period.

Steve Thomas tied the score with 1:59 remaining. It was the first goal John Vanbiesbrouck, the Flyers goalie, had allowed in 118 minutes of the first-round playoff series.

Then, with 52.4 seconds left, Mats Sundin knocked a rebound past Vanbiesbrouck to give Toronto victory.

**Coyotes 4, Blues 3** Shane Doan scored 8:58 into overtime as the Phoenix Coyotes won at home, ending the St. Louis goaltender Grant Fuhr's playoff domination of their franchise and tying the first-round series 1-1.

Dallas Drake, Teppo Numminen and Keith Carney also scored for Phoenix, while Al MacInnis, Pierre Turgeon and Pavol Demitra scored for St. Louis.

Fuhr had won 16 of 17 previous playoff games against the Coyotes, a string that started when the franchise was still in Winnipeg.

**Penguins 4, Devils 1** The Pittsburgh Penguins, playing without league-lead-

ing scorer Jaromir Jagr, relied on a strong defensive game to win in New Jersey and even the playoff series at 1-1.

Jagr, the Penguins' team captain, was scratched just before the game because of a groin injury suffered in the Penguins' loss Thursday in Game 1.

Aleksey Morozov, Greg Andrusek, Martin Straka and Alexei Kovalev scored for Pittsburgh, and the Penguins' defense suffocated the Devils.

Tom Barraso stopped 25 shots for the Penguins before Dave Andreychuk finally scored for the Devils from close in with 8:19 left.

**Avalanche 3, Sharks 1** Patrick Roy stopped 42 shots and Joe Sakic had two goals and an assist as the Colorado Avalanche's playoff series finally started in San Jose, California.

The first two games, scheduled for Denver, had been postponed because of the massacre at Columbine High School near Denver.

Roy's 100th playoff victory stretched his National Hockey League record. Sandis Ozolinsh, a former Shark, scored a goal and an assist for Colorado.

## Celtics Deal Wizards 5th Straight Loss

**The Associated Press**  
BOSTON — Dana Barros scored 20 points and Walter McCarty added a season-high 17 as the Boston Celtics beat the Washington Wizards, 113-84, on Sunday.

Mitch Richmond led the Wizards with 18 points and Otis Thorpe had 15, but their efforts were not enough to prevent Washington from losing its fifth straight game and seventh in a row on the road.

Boston took the lead on a Ron Mercer jump shot, with 3:48 left in the first quarter and put the game out of reach with an 11-4 run in the first three minutes of the third quarter. It was Boston's second consecutive victory and broke a two-game home losing streak.

The Wizards opened the fourth quarter with a 4-0 run on baskets by Richmond and Ben Wallace that sliced the Celtics' lead to 84-71. It was the closest Washington had come since the first minute of the second half.

But Paul Pierce scored five consec-

utive points as the Celtics regained a 94-71 margin with 8:51 left in the game.

Vitaly Potapenko's jump shot with 3:46 left in the third quarter capped a 6-

## NBA ROUNDOUP

0 Celtics run to give them a 78-56 lead, their biggest of the game. McCarty scored 12 points in the first half — 10 in the second quarter — as the Celtics took a 52-38 lead at intermission.

**In games played Saturday:**  
Spurs 108, Lakers 81 Tim Duncan had 21 points and 13 rebounds as the Spurs snapped a six-game losing streak against the visiting Lakers.

**Pacers 87, Bulls 66** Reggie Miller scored 20 points as Indiana won in Indianapolis to complete its first season sweep of Chicago in 19 years.

**Hornets 87, Nets 84** David Wesley had 19 points and nine assists as Charlotte won at home to keep up its pursuit of a playoff berth.

Elden Campbell had 16 points and 13 rebounds for the Hornets, who moved into a three-way tie with Toronto and New York for the eighth and final Eastern Conference playoff spot.

**Kings 105, Mavericks 102** Vlade Divac scored a season-high 28 points as Sacramento won its fifth straight game.

The Kings moved into a tie with Minnesota, which did not play, for the seventh playoff spot in the Western Conference.

**Warriors 93, Nuggets 74** Donyell Marshall had 18 points and 17 rebounds as Golden State scored its most lopsided victory of the season. Visiting Denver shot only 33 percent from the field, including a combined 2-for-17 by the guards Nick Van Exel and Chauncey Billups.

**Clippers 104, Grizzlies 96** Vanover lost the battle of the two worst teams in the NBA. Rodney Rogers scored 31 of his season-high 19 points in the final quarter to lead the host Clippers to victory.

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**WORLD ROUNDUP**

# Leeds Trips Manchester United

## Draw Allows Streaking Arsenal to Seize First Place in England

### Selig Urges Teams To Hire Minorities

**BASEBALL** Bud Selig, the U.S. baseball commissioner, has ordered team owners to consider minority candidates for openings in all positions, including the posts of general manager and manager.

In a letter to clubs, Selig said he must be notified when a job comes up and provided with a list of people being considered. "I expect the list to include minority candidates," he wrote. "I will provide assistance to you if you cannot identify candidates on your own."

Selig also said he would discipline clubs that did not "aggressively pursue equal opportunities and initiatives."

(NYT)

### Elway Said Set to Retire

**FOOTBALL** John Elway, the Denver Broncos quarterback who spearheaded some of the most stirring comebacks in National Football League history, is expected to announce his retirement as early as Monday. Elway, who turns 39 in June, told several close friends of his plans after deciding that the lure of an unprecedented third-consecutive Super Bowl title was not enough to coax him back for a 17th NFL season, according to published reports in Denver.

(WP)

### Sanchez Vicario Wins

**TENNIS** Top-seeded Arantxa Sanchez Vicario of Spain won the inaugural Egypt Classic on Sunday, routing the fifth seed, Irina Spirlea of Romania, 6-1, 6-0. Sanchez Vicario dominated throughout, engaging Spirlea in long rallies.

(AP)

### Sandelin Takes Open

**GOLF** Jarmo Sandelin won the Spanish Open on Sunday in El Prat, near Barcelona, with a final-round 3-under-par 69. The Swede finished at 267, 21 under par, four strokes ahead of Paul McGinley.

(AP)

### A Rally for Australia

**CRICKET** Australia rallied from 119 for six to a satisfying 252 for nine Sunday in the seventh and final one-day cricket international against the West Indies in Bridgetown, Barbados. Tom Moody hit an unbeaten 50 and Shane Lee 47, the pair sharing the highest partnership of the innings, 56 for the seventh wicket.

(AP)

### Boogerd Beats Armstrong

**CYCLING** Michael Boogerd, a Dutchman who rides for the Rabobank team, beat Lance Armstrong, an American with the U.S. Postal team, in the final sprint Saturday to win the Amstel Gold Race. Boogerd and Armstrong were part of a four-man breakaway.

(AFP)

Manchester United surrendered first place in the English Premier League on Sunday, four days after it reached the Champions Cup final.

Manchester United drew, 1-1, at fourth-place Leeds United on Sunday, allowing Arsenal to keep the top position it took by winning, 6-1, at Middlesbrough on Saturday.

The race for the title now appears to be between the top two clubs after third-place Chelsea could manage only a lackluster 0-0 draw Sunday against lowly Sheffield Wednesday.

Leeds dominated the possession in the first half and took the lead in the 32d minute on a goal by Jimmy Floyd Haselbaink.

In the 57th minute, Nigel Martyn, the Leeds goalie, blocked a header by Nicky Butt, but Andy Cole slammed the rebound into the net from close range.

Manchester United almost stole a victory in the dying seconds, but Dwight Yorke sent a left-foot shot over the top of the goal.

United trails Arsenal by two points but has played one game less. Arsenal, which made a late run to win the title last year, is in first place for the first time this season. The Gunners have scored 11 goals in winning their last two matches.

On Saturday, Nicolas Anelka and Nwankwo Kanu each scored twice as Arsenal won at Middlesbrough.

**NETHERLANDS** Feyenoord Rotterdam clinched its 14th Dutch championship Sunday with an inglorious 2-2 draw at home against NAC Breda, the bottom club in the league.

The Rotterdam club, which last won

the title in 1993, has a total of 71 points and cannot be caught.

Dmitri Shoukov gave NAC, which needs points to climb out of last place and avoid automatic relegation to the second division, a 19th-minute lead.

Jon Dahl Tomasson and Julio Ricardo Cruz put Feyenoord ahead by halftime. But Kees van Wonderen, a Feyenoord

#### EUROPEAN SOCCER

defender, then gifted the ball to Archil Arveladze, an NAC forward, who rounded Jurek Dudek, the Feyenoord goalie, to make the score 2-2.

**ITALY** Lazio of Rome won for the first time in four matches and clung to its one-point lead over AC Milan at the top of Serie A on Sunday. Christian Vieri scored the only goal with a header in the 60th minute as Lazio won, 1-0, over Sampdoria in Genoa.

Both teams finished the game with 10 men. Matias Almeyda, Lazio's Argentine midfielder, was sent off after 66 minutes. Six minutes later, Ariel Ortega, Sampdoria's Argentinian midfielder, received a red card. Almeyda will be suspended next week when Lazio visits Udinese.

AC Milan continued its strong play with a 2-0 victory at Vicenza. Oliver Bierhoff gave Milan the lead with a header in the 39th minute. Leonardo, the veteran Brazilian striker, scored the second goal in the second half. Fiorentina, the early-season leader, conceded a goal with three minutes to play and lost, 2-1, at Juventus. Filippo Inzaghi gave the host a 24th minute lead. Luis Oliveira then leveled with five

minutes to play, but Paolo Conte gave Juventus victory two minutes later.

Fiorentina trails Lazio by nine points, and its grip on third place and the Champions Cup berth it offers is weakening. Juventus climbed to sixth place, just three points behind Fiorentina.

**SPAIN** Sergio Corino scored in the 55th minute Sunday to give last-place Salamanca a 1-1 draw against Real Madrid and thwart the latter's bid to move into second place behind FC Barcelona.

Raul Gonzalez put Real Madrid ahead in the 48th minute on a pass from Pedja Mijatovic. But Corino stunned the visiting team minutes later by putting a free kick past its substitute goalkeeper, Pedro Manuel Contreras.

In misfiring against the Spanish first division's most porous defense, Real Madrid squandered a golden opportunity to advance in the standings, dropping instead from fourth to fifth place with 53 points.

Celta, which tied Valencia, 2-2, on Saturday, is in second place, followed by Mallorca, which trounced Athletic Bilbao, 6-1, on Sunday. Deportivo la Coruna, which beat Valladolid, 3-0, is in fourth place. Barcelona, the league leader, was to play a late match Sunday against Atletico Madrid.

**GERMANY** Bayern Munich, the Champions League finalist, conceded a late goal to be held to a 1-1 draw by its cross-town rival, 1860 Munich, in a Bundesliga match Sunday.

The defender Markus Babel pounced on a rebound to score from close range in the 75th to give Bayern the lead before 69,000 at Munich's Olympic stadium. But Marco Kurz scored in the



Matthew Jones of Leeds United, left, and Dwight Yorke of Manchester United trying to gain some leverage Sunday as they chase the ball.

89th to snap 1860 Munich's five-game losing streak and salvage a point against the runaway Bundesliga leader.

The draw produced no changes in the standings, although Bayern had its lead

over Bayer Leverkusen cut to eight points; 1860 Munich remained ninth. Bayern Munich is to meet Manchester United in the Champions Cup final.

(AP, AFP, Reuters)

# Kuerten and Sore Thigh Defeat Rios

By Sal A. Zanca  
Special to the Herald Tribune

**MONTE CARLO** — Two years ago, Marcelo Rios won the Monte Carlo Open and became the big favorite to win the French Open. That title, however, went to Gustavo Kuerten of Brazil, who lit up Roland Garros with his play and his bright blue-and-yellow outfits.

Since then, the two men's paths have gone in different directions. Kuerten didn't win another tournament for more than a year. Rios, meanwhile, fulfilled his promise and last year briefly became the world's No. 1 player. But injuries prevented him from keeping the top spot.

On Sunday, an injury again cost Rios the chance of winning a tournament when he faced Kuerten in the final of the Monte Carlo Open. It was a strained right thigh that ended the Chilean's quest after less than an hour. Rios quit with Kuerten leading, 6-4, 2-1.

"Sometimes you have to listen to your body," Rios said. "Even if it's a final, I have many years to play, and I don't want to be injured again and stop for another five months. I thought I would stop right now and not give it a chance to get worse."

A back injury has limited Rios to just six tournaments in 1999, and he had to

play five matches in six days here.

Rios said he strained his leg two weeks ago and that it became worse after his semifinal Saturday. He said he had received treatment and hoped his leg would hold up for Sunday's best-of-five-set final.

After the seventh game, however, he had to get his right thigh wrapped. Kuerten then won the next three games to take the first set, 6-4. In the second set, Rios

#### MONTE CARLO OPEN

started to limit his efforts. He stopped running after shots that were out of his range, and he started charging the net.

"I was trying to play short points rather than rallying from the baseline," he said. "It's a five-set match. Even if you can play a couple of sets, it's not enough. We're professionals. If you go to the court, I think it is to win. And that's why I didn't continue play."

Rios ended the third game with three unforced errors. He then went to his chair, unwrapped the bandage around the thigh and went over to shake Kuerten's hand, indicating he had given up.

The tournament doctor said further treatment over the next week would determine how much time Rios would need to recover.

Rios has had a history of injuries. He was not able to defend his Monte Carlo title in 1998 because of an elbow injury. Hamstring and hip problems hampered him last autumn.

Although he ended the year ranked No. 2 behind Pete Sampras, a back injury forced him out of the year-end ATP Tour final and out of the Australian Open in January.

In Monte Carlo, Kuerten played well during the week to advance to his first final in six months. It was only the fourth title of his career.

Kuerten said Sunday that he had been unprepared for his victory at Roland Garros in 1997. "So I won there," he said. "It was two unbelievable weeks that I really played well, but I still had to work on many things to get to this level that I am now. I've been able to keep playing well for a longer time. For weeks maybe. I'm only losing when the guy really plays well. So I'm getting more consistent during this year, and I'm really learning and improving a lot."

Rios was the latest in a string of players to be eliminated at the tournament without losing on the court. Pete Sampras dropped out before the start because of pain in his back, and Andre Agassi left the competition Tuesday, citing a sore shoulder.

# Lord Killanin, 84, President Of the IOC in the 1970s, Dies

**LONDON** — Lord Killanin, who piloted the Olympic Games through political boycotts in 1976 and 1980, died Sunday at age 84.

A former war correspondent and film producer, Lord Killanin was elected president of the International Olympic Committee just days before the 1972 Munich Games were shattered by an attack by Palestinian guerrillas who killed 11 Israeli competitors and officials. He did not take office until after the Games but was involved in dealing with the tragedy as the committee's first vice president.

He served as the IOC's president until 1980.

Lord Killanin, died at his home in Dublin, Britain's Press Association news agency said, quoting members of his family.

Lord Killanin was elected president of the Olympic Council of Ireland in 1950 and became a member of the IOC in 1952. He became a vice president in 1968 before taking on the top job four years later.

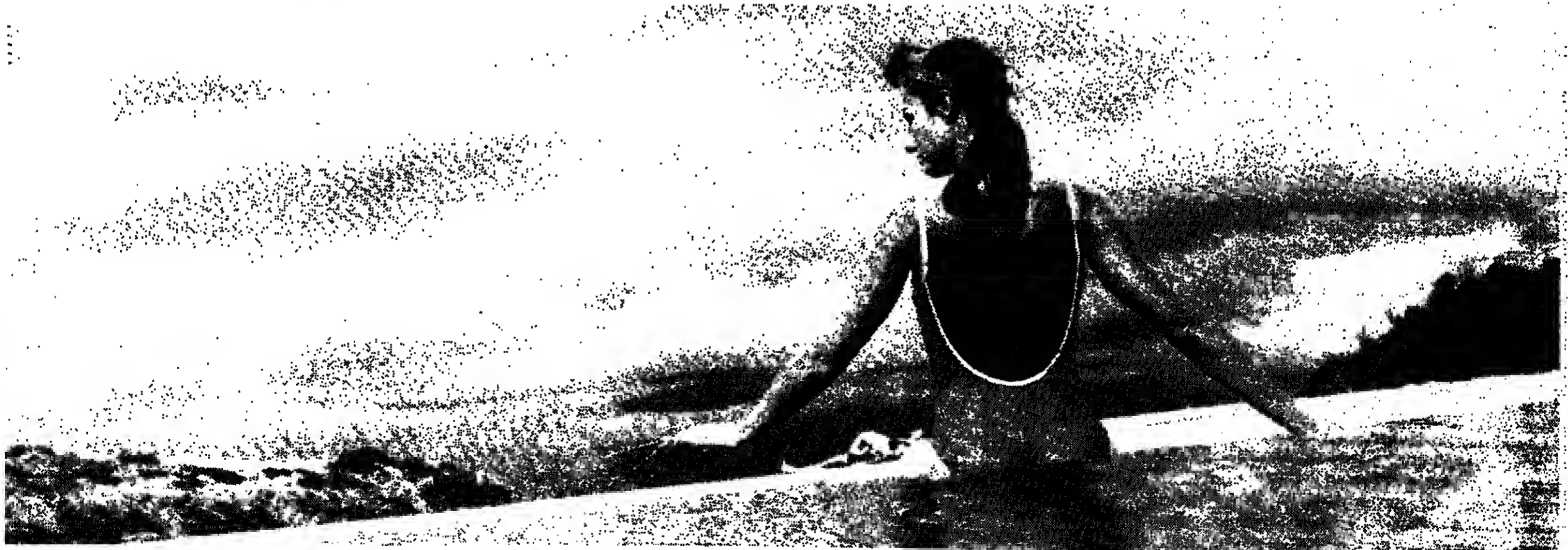
In 1976, African nations walked out

of the Montreal Games in protest against a New Zealand rugby union tour of South Africa in the same year.

Four years later, President Jimmy Carter led a Western boycott of the Moscow Games in protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the previous year. In the two months before the Moscow Games, Lord Killanin visited both President Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow and Carter in Washington.

Even before the boycotts of 1976 and 1980, Lord Killanin was well aware of the influence politics could have on the Games. In January 1975, he wrote in a book on the Olympics: "The Games have also attracted more and more political attention. The arenas and the village have become a platform for expressions of those seeking new freedoms and self-determination within our society."

Just before the Moscow Games, the present IOC chief, Juan Antonio Samaranch, was elected president and Lord Killanin was named an honorary life president.

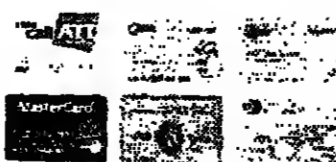


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